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THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL

ORGAN OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
OF THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL

VOL. XV FEBRUARY, 1938 No. 2

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Regarding the Death of Lenin*

BY JOSEPH STALIN

COMRADES:

We Communists are people of a special mold. We are made of special material. We are those who comprise the army of the great proletarian strategist, the army of Comrade Lenin. There is nothing higher than the honor of belonging to this army. There is nothing higher than the title of member of the Party founded and led by Comrade Lenin. It is not given to all to be members of such a Party. It is not given to all to withstand the stress and storm that accompany membership in such a Party. Sons of the working class, sons of poverty and struggle, sons of incredible privations and heroic efforts—these are the ones primarily who must be members of such a Party. That is why the Leninist Party, the Communist Party, is at the same time called the party of the working class.

In departing from us, Comrade Lenin bequeathed to us the duty of holding aloft and guarding the purity of the great title of member of the Party. We vow to you, Comrade Lenin, that we will fulfil your bequest with honor.

For twenty-five years Comrade Lenin reared our Party and finally reared it into the strongest and most steeled workers' party in the world. The blows of tsarism and its guardians, the fury of the bourgeoisie and the landlords, the armed attacks of Kolchak and Denikin, the armed intervention of England and France, the lies and slander of the hundred-mouthed bourgeois press—all these scorpions invariably fell about the head of our Party during the course of a quarter of a century. But our Party stood, firm as a rock, repelling the innumerable blows of the enemy and leading the working class forward to victory. In fierce battles our Party forged the unity and solidarity of its ranks. It was by unity and solidarity that it achieved victory over the enemies of the working class.

In departing from us, Comrade Lenin bequeathed to us the duty of guarding the unity of our Party like the apple of our eye. We vow to you, Comrade Lenin, that we will also fulfil this bequest of yours with honor.

Heavy and unbearable is the lot of the working class. Painful and burdensome are the sufferings of the toilers. Slaves and slave-owners, serfs and feudal lords, peasants and landlords, workers and capitalists, oppressed and oppressors—that is how the world has been built from time immemorial, and such it remains today in the overwhelming majority of countries. Dozens and hundreds of times in the course of centuries have the toilers tried to cast their oppressors off their backs and become masters of their own circumstances. But every time, defeated and disgraced, they were compelled to retreat, their hearts burning with shame and humiliation, anger and despair, and they turned their eyes to the unknown, to the heavens, where they hoped to find deliverance. The chains of slavery remained intact, or else the old chains were replaced by new ones equally burdensome and de-

* Speech delivered at the Second All-Union Congress of Soviets, January 26, 1924.

grading. Only in our country have the oppressed and suppressed masses of toilers succeeded in throwing off the rule of the landlords and capitalists and in replacing it by the rule of the workers and peasants.

You know, comrades, and now the whole world admits this, that this gigantic struggle was led by Comrade Lenin and his Party. The greatness of Lenin lies primarily in the fact that he, by creating the republic of Soviets, showed in deeds to the oppressed masses of the whole world, that hope of deliverance was not lost, that the rule of the landlords and capitalists was short-lived, that the kingdom of labor could be created by the efforts of the toilers themselves, that the kingdom of labor must be created on *earth* and not in heaven. Thereby he fired the hearts of the workers and peasants of the whole world with the hope of liberation. Thereby also is explained the fact that the name of Lenin has become the name most beloved to the toilers and the exploited masses.

In departing from us, Comrade Lenin bequeathed to us the duty of guarding and strengthening the dictatorship of the proletariat. We vow to you, Comrade Lenin, that we will spare no effort also to fulfil this bequest of yours with honor.

The dictatorship of the proletariat was created in our country on the basis of the alliance between the workers and the peasants. This is the first and fundamental basis of the Republic of Soviets. The workers and peasants could not have vanquished the capitalists and landlords without such an alliance.

In departing from us, Comrade Lenin bequeathed to us the duty of strengthening with all our might the alliance between the workers and the peasants. We vow to you, Comrade Lenin, that we will also fulfil this bequest of yours with honor.

The second foundation of the Republic of Soviets is the alliance of the toilers of the nationalities of our country. Russians and Ukrainians, Bashkirs and White Russians, Georgians and Azerbaidjanians, Armenians and Daghestanians, Tartars and Kirghiz, Uzbeks and Turkomans—all are equally interested in strengthening the dictatorship of the proletariat. Not only does the dictatorship of the proletariat release these peoples from their chains and oppressors, but these peoples, by their unbounded devotion to the Republic of Soviets and their readiness to make sacrifices for it, release our Republic of Soviets from the designs and attacks of the enemies of the working class. That is why Comrade Lenin untiringly urged upon us the need for a voluntary alliance of the peoples of our country, the need for their fraternal collaboration within the framework of a Union of Republics.

In departing from us, Comrade Lenin bequeathed to us the duty of consolidating and extending the Union of Republics. We vow to you, Comrade Lenin, that we will also fulfil this bequest of yours with honor.

The third foundation of the dictatorship of the proletariat is our Red Army, our Red Navy. Lenin told us more than once that the respite we have won from the capitalist states may be a short one. Lenin pointed out to us more than once that the strengthening of the Red Army and the improvement of its condition is one of the most important tasks of our Party. The events connected with Curzon's ultimatum and the crisis in Germany once again confirmed the fact that Lenin, as always, was right. Let us vow, then, comrades, that we will spare no effort to strengthen our Red Army, our Red Navy.

Our country stands like a huge rock surrounded by the ocean of bourgeois states. Wave after wave hurls itself against it, threatening to submerge it and sweep it away. But the rock stands unshaken. Wherein lies its strength? Not only in the fact that our country is based on the alliance between the workers and peasants, that it embodies the alliance of free nationalities, that it is protected by the strong arm of the Red Army and the Red Navy. The strength of our country, its firmness, its stability

lies in the fact that it meets with profound sympathy and inviolable support in the hearts of the workers and peasants of the whole world.

The workers and peasants of the whole world want to preserve the Republic of Soviets as an arrow shot by the sure hand of Comrade Lenin into the camp of the enemy, as a bulwark of their hopes for deliverance from oppression and exploitation, as a faithful beacon showing them the way to liberation. They want to preserve it and they will not permit the landlords and capitalists to destroy it. Herein lies our strength. Herein lies the strength of the toilers of all lands. And herein lies the weakness of the bourgeoisie of the whole world.

Lenin never regarded the Republic of Soviets as an end in itself. He always regarded it as a necessary link for strengthening the revolutionary movement in the lands of the West and the East, as a necessary link for facilitating the victory of the toilers of the whole world over capital. Lenin knew that only such a conception is the correct one, not only from the international point of view, but also from the point of view of preserving the Republic of Soviets itself. Lenin knew that only in this way can the hearts of the toilers throughout the world be fired for the decisive battles for emancipation. That is why he, the most brilliant among the brilliant leaders of the proletariat, on the very morrow of the establishment of the proletarian dictatorship, laid the foundation of the workers' International. That is why he never tired of extending and consolidating the alliance of the toilers of the whole world, the Communist International.

You have seen during the past few days the pilgrimage of tens and hundreds of thousands of toilers to the bier of Comrade Lenin. Very soon you will see the pilgrimage of representatives of millions of toilers to the tomb of Comrade Lenin. You need have no doubt that the representatives of millions will be later followed by representatives of tens and hundreds of millions from all corners of the earth, in order to testify that Comrade Lenin was the leader not only of the Russian proletariat, not only of the European workers, not only of the colonial East, but of all the toilers throughout the globe.

In departing from us, Comrade Lenin bequeathed to us the duty of remaining loyal to the principles of the Communist International. We vow to you, Comrade Lenin, that we will not spare our lives to strengthen and extend the alliance of the toilers of the whole world—the Communist International.

Loyalty to Leninism—the Guarantee of Further Victories

FOURTEEN years have passed since the day when there came to an end the life of the greatest revolutionary and remaker of human society, the genius of the socialist revolution and leader of all the oppressed masses, Vladimir Ilyich Lenin.

A new epoch in the history of mankind is indissolubly connected with the name of Lenin. Throughout the entire existence of human society after the period of primitive communism, a small group of exploiters have enslaved and oppressed the mass of exploited people. Forms of exploitation of one kind gave way to others; in place of the slave-owning order there came feudalism, then in its place the capitalist order was established. Exploiters of one kind yielded place to others, while the mass of people continued to bear the chains of slavery. Many times in history have the people risen up in struggle to overthrow the oppressors and establish a new order on earth, but each time they suffered defeat and again returned to the old, gloomy life.

Only in the land where the great Lenin raised high the banner of socialist revolution did the oppressed and enslaved masses of workers and peasants throw off the old order of feudal and capitalist exploitation and set up a new society. Under the direct leadership of Lenin there began the great transformation of the old world based on exploitation and enslavement into a new world, the world of socialism where all forms of exploitation have been destroyed once and for all, and human society lives a life of joy, liberty and happiness.

"The greatness of Lenin lies primarily in the fact that he, by creating the Republic of Soviets, showed in deeds to the oppressed masses of the whole world that hope of deliverance was not lost, that the rule of the landlords and capitalists was short-lived, that the kingdom of labor could be created by the efforts of the toilers themselves, that the kingdom of labor must be created on earth, and not in heaven. Thereby he fired the hearts of the workers and peasants of the whole world with the hope of liberation. Thereby also is explained the fact that the name of Lenin has become the name most beloved to the toilers and exploited masses." (J. Stalin. Speech at the Second All-Union Congress of Soviets, Jan. 26, 1924.)

In order to fulfil the world historic task of liberating the working class and all toiling humanity from the yoke of exploitation, Lenin had to conduct a tremendous struggle against opportunism. He ruthlessly routed the Second International theoreticians who distorted Marxism; he developed the principles of Marx to suit the new conditions of the epoch of imperialism; he created the mighty Party of the Bolsheviks and organized the victory of the great October Socialist Revolution. Throughout the whole of this struggle, shoulder to shoulder with Lenin, marched his closest comrade-in-arms, loyal pupil and brilliant follower, Comrade Stalin.

Lenin hurled a challenge at the whole world of exploitation and oppression and headed the great battle for socialism against capitalism. After Lenin's death this banner of struggle was taken up by Comrade Stalin. At the bier of the great

Lenin, Stalin uttered his historical vow before the peoples of the U.S.S.R. and the whole world, a vow of struggle for Leninism, for the fulfilment of Lenin's behests. Unswerving and consistent has been the struggle waged by Stalin for the fulfilment of the vow made to Lenin and ruthlessly has he exposed and swept aside the enemies of Leninism and the socialist land of the Soviets. This iron vow of the leader of the Bolshevik Party has been fulfilled. With each year that passes conscious workers of all countries take note with ever-growing pride of the successful fulfilment of Lenin's principles. Under the banner of Leninism, ever new historical victories are being won for socialism.

The last years of the development of the Soviet Union have been particularly noteworthy in this respect. In the land where, under Lenin's direct leadership, capitalism was overthrown and the struggle began for the establishment of socialist society, in the land which is the birthplace of Leninism, socialist society has now in the main been built, the first phase of communism, socialism, has been established.

Under the banner of Leninism, under the guidance of Comrade Stalin, human society which has existed for thousands of years has for the first time in history entered the era of socialism. Socialism is no longer a utopia, not the *theory* of the liberation of the toiling masses from the yoke of exploitation, and a program of struggle for a better life on earth, but is an actually existing society, a mighty socialist state with a population of one hundred and seventy millions.

The Stalin Constitution adopted a year ago registered that which is a firmly established part of the life and being of the Soviet people—the creation of the material and political basis of socialist society wherein the means of production are socialist property, and not the property of a handful of capitalist magnates. In this society the exploitation of man by man, unemployment, poverty, the gloomy existence of the toiling masses have been destroyed once and for all, and there have been realized the historic rights of man—the right to work, the right to education, the right to leisure, the right to material security in old age. The great principle of socialism has been realized: from each according to his ability, to each according to his labor. The Stalin Constitution, the construction of victorious socialism, testifies to the triumph of Leninism.

On the basis of the experience of the Soviet Union, millions of people throughout the world see the meaning of the triumph of Leninism, see what the realization of the Leninist principle brings to the people. *The victory of Leninism has brought to millions of working people freedom for evermore from exploitation and poverty, from enslavement and oppression by capitalism, and ensured them a free, joyful life in socialist society.* Moreover, all see that these are only the first fruits of socialism, to be followed by an unparalleled development of socialist society.

The whole world sees that the homeland of Leninism, the land of Soviets, is the focal point of progress, culture, science and art. The representatives of the scientific world, world famous writers and men of culture in the capitalist countries have more than once testified before the whole world to the blossoming of culture in the U.S.S.R. At a time when the most bestial and furious enemies of the proletariat and working people, enemies of socialism and of Lenin's principles—the fascists—are the embodiment of the darkest reaction resulting in the destruction of cultural values, in the wiping out of democratic liberties won over the course of long years, in resurrecting the barbarism and obscurantism of the Middle Ages, the land of Lenin-Stalin is a bright beacon for the whole of mankind.

The recent years of the struggle for the realization of Lenin's behests in the U.S.S.R. have brought about the flourishing of a genuine people's socialist democracy. The Stalin Constitution ensures for all citizens democratic rights and their real existence, one such as is

possible only in a country where there are no ruling and oppressing classes, where no single class is interested in suppressing the opinions of the people. All citizens of the Land of Soviets enjoy universal, equal and direct suffrage with the secret ballot. The Stalin Constitution is firmly accepted in the minds of millions of working people of all countries as the most democratic constitution in the world.

The victory of socialism has brought about an unprecedented consolidation of the Soviet people, has created real unity of the entire people. This unity is conditioned by the very social-economic order of the socialist country. In the U.S.S.R. there are no exploiting classes and the exploitation of man by man has been abolished; the socialist ownership of the means and instruments of production is the basis of Soviet society. In the U.S.S.R. there are no classes whose interests run counter to one another and whose very position in productive life, as is the case in the capitalist countries, leads to an irreconcilable antagonism of class interests and fierce class struggle. In the U.S.S.R. there are only two classes — workers and peasants — and their interests are not only not hostile, but on the contrary, friendly. The entire mass of working people of the U.S.S.R. work for socialism. They have one common aim, the same common interests and cares. These aims and interests are also the interests of the state. The state organization is not a machine for the oppression of one class by another, as is the case in the countries of capitalism, but serves the interests of the working people of the U.S.S.R., the interests of the further consolidation of socialist society. That is why the Soviets of deputies of the working people constitute the political basis of the Soviet Union.

Thus, in the Land of Soviets there has been established a *moral and political unity of the people* without parallel, and not to be found in a single capitalist country. The Soviet people are united in their everyday productive and social life, they are united in the struggle to consolidate socialist society and the further victories of socialism, they are united in their struggle against the hostile capitalist countries and their agents, enemies of the people, operating within the confines of the Soviet Union.

This unity is the unity of socialist society. It points to the fact that the people will no longer be divided into classes, that causes for class struggle will no longer be created. The unity of the Soviet people is a historic step on the road to the classless socialist society.

This unity of the people, unparalleled in the history of mankind that has been for centuries divided into classes, has come about in the land where Lenin raised the banner of struggle for socialism. The unity of the people has become possible as a result of the victory of Leninism, as a result of the realization of Lenin's behests under the guidance of Comrade Stalin.

During the elections to the Supreme Soviet the peoples of the Land of Soviets demonstrated to the whole world their supreme unity and solidarity around the Party of Lenin-Stalin. This unanimous approval of the policy of the C.P.S.U. and the government and the universal love of the people for the Bolshevik Party as expressed by millions of working people during the election period are a real triumph for Leninism, a triumph for Stalin's leadership, for the struggle for the victory of socialism.

Lenin's behests have been fulfilled in the course of an irreconcilable, fierce struggle against all enemies of socialism, against the hostile groupings of the Trotskyite-Bukharinite agents of fascism.

Tremendous service was rendered by Comrade Stalin in the struggle against the enemies of Leninism, in the victorious development and realization of Lenin's principles, which ensured the victory of socialism in the U.S.S.R.

"In all the successes of socialism, in all our victories, we see the all-conquering strength of Leninism. We have been victorious by loyalty to Leninism. We

have been and are now taught this by Comrade Stalin.

". . . the reason we have so successfully carried these behests of Lenin into life is that the whole of our cause, the whole of our work has been guided by the worthy perpetuator of Lenin's cause, the one to whom belongs the merit of developing Lenin's ideas regarding the socialist revolution, namely, our Stalin." (Molotov.)

The building of socialism in the U.S.S.R. and the unity of the Soviet people on a scale hitherto unseen in history were won on the basis of Lenin's principles and are exerting a powerful influence over the struggle of the whole of the international proletariat. These factors serve as a supreme example and inspiring force in the solution of the most important task facing the proletariat and working masses in the capitalist countries in the present period; the liquidation of the split in the working class movement and the establishment of the anti-fascist People's Front.

"The existence of the land of socialism, that powerful buttress of the struggle of the international proletariat, the buttress of peace, liberty and progress, *is a tremendous factor in the liquidation of the split in the ranks of the world working movement.* By their example, their labor heroism, their Stakhanov movement, their devotion to their socialist fatherland, their merciless struggle against the enemies of the people, Trotskyite-Bukharinite spies, diversionists, agents of fascism, the working people of the Soviet Union exert enormous influence on the bringing together of the split forces of the world working class movement." (Dimitroff.)

It is in the struggle to solve these tasks that there lies the fulfilment of Lenin's behests in the present conditions of the activity of the Communist Parties in the capitalist countries. The guarantee of their success is loyalty to Leninism and the correct application of the Leninist principles.

In applying the Leninist principles to contemporary conditions of development, the Seventh Congress of the Communist International put forward the historic task of overcoming the split in the labor movement and of creating a powerful People's Front of struggle against fascism. Through the lips of Comrade Dimitroff, the tribune of the anti-fascist struggle, the Seventh Congress of the Comintern defined *how* the struggle had to be carried on for Leninism, for the interests of the working people of all countries in the present period, for the victory of socialism.

The Communist International and its sections are waging a firm and steady struggle for the operation of the policy laid down by the Seventh Congress and, by basing their actions on the Leninist-Stalinist adherence to principle and devotion to their banner, are step by step achieving unity of the working class movement and the launching of the People's Front.

Communists in all countries learn from our great Lenin to forge the unity of the proletarian ranks and to conduct an irreconcilable struggle against ideology and practice hostile to the working class and leading to the disarming of the proletariat. The Communists of the capitalist countries see the fulfilment of Lenin's behests in the present period in the indissoluble combination of the struggle to overcome the split in the working class movement and to rally the wide masses against fascism, and an irreconcilable struggle against Social-Democratism.

Lenin set brilliant, unforgettable examples of the struggle for working class unity, for proletarian leadership of the general democratic movement, the general democratic struggle against the forces of reaction and autocracy. The Leninist principles of the hegemony of the proletariat in the bourgeois-democratic revolution are a classic example of the leadership of the motive forces of that revolution, an example of the way a crushing blow is delivered at the main enemy.

The overthrow of the autocracy was not an end in itself for the Bolshevik Party. Behind the victory over tsarism it saw and set itself the task of passing

to the socialist revolution, to the struggle for the proletarian dictatorship and the building of socialism. But the overthrow of the autocracy was an essential stage of the struggle for socialism and for many years was the prime and decisive task of the Party's activity. In order to achieve this task, Lenin united all the working people, all the democratic forces capable of fighting for the victory of the bourgeois-democratic revolution.

One of the splendid examples of Lenin's struggle to unite the forces of the people both to overthrow tsarism and for the further struggle for socialism is his teaching regarding the alliance between the proletariat and peasantry. Lenin's slogans on the peasant question provide a splendid solution of the problem of united action between the proletariat and the basic mass of the village population at the different strategic stages of the revolution. But the working class and toiling peasantry form the overwhelming and decisive section of the people. That was the case not only in Russia, but is the case today in the majority of capitalist countries.

Over the course of long years Lenin waged a struggle for unity in the ranks of the working class, to rally them round the Bolshevik Party, for the leadership by the proletariat of the general democratic movement against the autocracy. In this struggle the great genius of the socialist revolution never for a moment lost sight of the final aim of the proletarian movement and dealt devastating blows at those who tried to subordinate the interests of the working class to the interests of the exploiters.

The struggle for proletarian unity, for participation in, and leadership of the nationwide movement was indissolubly connected with the struggle against the distortion of Marxism and the rejection of the historic mission of the proletariat as the class called upon to overthrow capitalism and create the socialist society. Throughout all these years, Lenin fought against the Mensheviks, including therein the Trotskyites—that variety of the international Social-Democracy that has pursued the line of subordinating the interests of the proletariat to the interests of the bourgeoisie.

The struggle of Lenin and Stalin ensured the unity of the working class of Russia and the fact that the majority of the proletariat and toiling peasantry were won to the side of the Bolshevik Party during the decisive battle in October, 1917, and also that they were allied in the establishment of socialist society.

The result of these historic activities of the Party is the now existing splendid unity of the Soviet people. The irreconcilable struggle of the Bolsheviks against opportunism, against Menshevik Social-Democratism, which is the policy of coalition with the bourgeoisie and subordination to the latter of the interests of the proletariat, as well as, later, the routing of the enemies of the people, were the prime condition for the successes of socialism and the establishment of the nationwide unity of the socialist land of Soviets.

The Communist International, guided by Lenin's principles, now directs its blows against the chief enemy of the mass of toiling people—against fascism. Communists mobilize all the forces of the people capable of fighting in the ranks of the general democratic movement of the People's Front. The prime condition of the victory of this front is loyalty to Leninism and the struggle against ideology hostile to it, solidarity and unity of the working class itself which can and must be in the vanguard of the struggle.

In carrying out this line, the Communist Parties of capitalist countries see their task in the struggle for Leninism to be the following: that they mobilize the masses against fascism on the basis of the People's Front policy and root out the Trotskyite-Bukharinite agents of the fascist bourgeoisie; that they strive for the establishment of the united proletarian front and the elimination of the split in the labor movement; that they unmask Social-Democratism as the ideology and practice of subordinating the proletariat to the bourgeoisie; that they

render supreme support to the Soviet Union—the land of socialism, the material embodiment of the victory of Leninism.

In the light of the tremendous tasks facing the international proletariat, the importance of a constant study of Leninism in the ranks of the Communist Parties becomes still more acute. It is this that the Communist International constantly teaches all its members, all fighters against reaction and fascism.

"It must not be forgotten that the more the People's Front movement extends, the more complicated the tactical problems of the movement, the more necessary is a really Marxist analysis of the situation and of the correlation of the fighting forces, the more necessary is it to hold in one's hands the reliable compass of Marxist-Leninist theory." (Dimitroff.)

Five Years of Hitler Dictatorship

BY V. FLORIN

THE five years of fascist dictatorship in Germany have meant the sea of blood and tears already shed in Germany, Ethiopia, Spain and China and of those that will yet be shed in other countries as a result of new acts of aggression and provocation by the fascist warmongers. These attacks and acts of provocation are reflected in the living conditions of the German people themselves. Five years of fascist dictatorship have led to bitter disillusionment among masses of former supporters of "National-Socialism" who feel they have been deceived; these years have engendered deep hatred towards the fascist regime among broad sections of the people; they have aroused, and continue to arouse in them the will to resist. The five years of fascist dictatorship have been years of heroic struggle by the Communist Party of Germany, the vanguard of the working class against fascism; years of courageous resistance by the Social-Democratic and Catholic workers, the working masses and the flower of the intellectuals.

The most reactionary elements of German finance capital, the omnipotent masters of all undertakings in the key branches of Germany's national economy, resorted on more than one occasion during the last years of Weimar democracy to provocative attacks upon the standard of living of the working people and their political gains. They it is who are the force that organized and prepared the downfall of Weimar democracy. To bring about the fascist coup, they used as their terrorist shock troops the Hitler party they had long been financing. In the Hitler party itself, they remained in the background, just as, incidentally, the most thoroughgoing warmongers do. As a result of such a policy, the big imperialist bourgeoisie of Germany, by spreading chauvinist sentiments, anti-capitalist demagogy and deception in the social sphere, helped to create a mass base for the Hitler party in the ranks of the urban petty bourgeoisie and the peasantry.

Wide masses of the German people, worn out by the crisis, could see no way out of the situation, because of Bruening's policy and the tolerant attitude of Social-Democracy; they spoke with contempt of Social-Democracy, of its policy of everlasting concessions to the big bourgeoisie, and so fell for the bait of lying promises and prospects which was set for them by the National-Socialists. Thus, even those wide sections of the petty bourgeoisie and peasantry who were favorably disposed to the proposals of the Communists to solve all problems at the expense of the big bourgeoisie lost faith, in consequence of the split in the working class, in the possibility of the proposals being carried out that way, and inclined towards the fascist coup. That the fascists were able to win the support of wide masses of the petty-bourgeoisie was facilitated by the fact that the working class did not advance in solid ranks in defense of their own democratic gains.

The split in the ranks of the working class was the chief cause of the failure to counter the establishment of the fas-

cist dictatorship with serious, organized resistance. Moreover, it was not the actual fact of the existence of two big parties of the working class that played the chief role, but the circumstance that the attempts of the Communist Party, led by Comrade Ernst Thaelmann, to unite the efforts of the two parties to organize joint resistance to the common enemy, met with failure in consequence of the negative attitude of the Social-Democratic leadership to these attempts; that the majority of the supporters of Social-Democracy were hidebound in their opportunist passivity—the fruits of the long years of the coalition policy that tied the working class hand and foot; that the leaders of Social-Democracy stubbornly rejected all collaboration whatsoever with the Communists while at the same time giving instructions to their rank-and-file organizations not to undertake joint action with the Communists. The false line of the Social-Democratic leadership that "the Nazis be let in, so that they may go bankrupt," the calculation that fascism would resort to one form or another of compromise with the Social-Democrats, impelled the leadership of the Social-Democratic Party of Germany in 1932-33 to persist in this suicidal policy that disarmed the basic masses of the supporters of Social-Democracy. This policy paralyzed the fighting power of the German proletariat, and the general strike became impossible. In such circumstances isolated action by the Communists would have been doomed in advance to failure

At the fighting front against fascism, the working class must be the basic unit around which all other forces are grouped; but since the working class of Germany was split, it could not organize mass action, create a wide People's Front of active resistance to fascism. The examples of Spain and France emphasize the possibility of setting up such a wide anti-fascist People's Front, provided there is unity in the working class.

An analysis of the lying program of the National-Socialists partly answers the question as to how the fascists were able to catch a considerable section of the petty bourgeoisie in their net.

Since Hitler came to power towards the end of the economic crisis, he was able temporarily to lull these masses with illusions and to picture the brief economic revival that developed as a victory of the Nazis. But the fact that, thanks to the fascist regime, it was the big capitalists and landlords who mainly made use of this economic boom opened the eyes of considerable sections of the intermediary sections of society. The main mass of the workers were enemies of Hitler from the very outset and remain so today.

Not a single one of the wishes and demands of the broad masses demagogically included by the fascists in their program, and according to Hitler's promise due to be carried out in the course of four years, has been or will be satisfied. Just the opposite has occurred.

The entire economic policy of German fascism is subordinated to the conductor's baton of aggressive imperialist monopolist capital. Everything is subordinated to the perspective of imperialist war. Chief place is occupied by the production of means of destruction.

In the period of economic revival throughout the world, it crowded out the production of the means of consumption. This militarization of economy brought about a shortage of raw materials unparalleled even during the crisis. It caused an acute shortage of raw materials in all branches of industry producing the means of consumption, although more raw materials are being imported than ever before. The adventurist armaments race which enriches the big trusts led to a considerable increase in internal indebtedness and very severe impoverishment of wide masses of the people, and, thereby, to a sharp decline in home consumption. German trade in semi-manufactured and manufactured goods is not so extensively represented in the world market as other countries. Now, in connection with the new economic crisis in America, German capitalist trading circles are seized with grow-

ing alarm at the opportunities lost, the more so since the home market has been very severely weakened as a result of the enormous internal debt.

In the extremely tense political situation she has herself created throughout the world, fascist Germany, on the eve of a new world economic crisis, is considerably worse economically than Germany of the Weimar period on the eve of the last 1929 crisis. This also is one of the reasons for the frantic measures of Goering's economic policy, subordinated to the one aim of war. As the change of the Minister of Economy has shown, this circumstance caused a sharpening of internal differences in the fascist camp.

We shall not err if we say that in Germany, despite the increase of production as compared with the 1929 level, there are still about two and half million unemployed, or not regularly employed, workers. The benefits they receive—if they receive any at all—are extremely insignificant. The real wages of the worker, according to fascist statistical data, have dropped by 10 to 15 per cent while there has been an increase in working time of 10 per cent. But it should be borne in mind that the Nazis distort statistical data to suit themselves. Yet, even according to fascist sources, the average real wages of the worker have remained at the reduced wage level in existence during the crisis. With wage rates that do not provide the possibility of anything like a satisfactory existence, the speed-up in the factories where the worker is converted into a soldier becomes more and more unbearable. This has led, together with an increasingly bad position as regards safety-first measures, to a tremendous increase in the number of accidents, primarily among the young workers.

Taxes on wages under fascism, just as all kinds of reductions from wages, have considerably increased as compared with the pre-Hitler period. The total pensions paid to invalids and the aged have decreased, although the number of invalids has increased. The consumption of food has dropped even by comparison with the crisis period. It is becoming more and more difficult to live, while the awful conditions of the children are indescribable. It is becoming impossible to satisfy the cultural requirements of the masses under fascism.

The workers, deprived of their trade unions and the right to free organization, are wholly dependent upon the whims of the employers, especially in those places where the feeling of solidarity has not yet again become consolidated. In order to avoid any close collaboration among the workers, the employers, the fascist party and the state maintain a huge army of informers and spies. But despite all this, the workers' struggle for better working conditions and increased wages, against the "speed-up" and the long working day, against insufficient safety measures, has never stopped. It is on this basis of struggle that the former trade union functionaries and revolutionary workers have been able in the best way to make use of the demagogy of the Nazis, but even during the war boom, the majority of workers did not achieve any increase in the low rates of pay fixed during the crisis period. The question of wages and working hours will continue in the future to be the most burning question facing the working class. Experience has shown that the workers are rallying around these problems at a more rapid rate, and are beginning to take active participation.

The small handicraftsmen are of those sections of the people most disillusioned in fascism. A very inconsiderable amount of house building is being done and these handicraftsmen are not allowed to work on military objects. The shortage of raw materials is doubly felt by them. The prices of iron and ironware are high. Much time and energy have to be expended in order to obtain permission to purchase and use various metals. The average income per artisan family—there are four million of them—in 1935 amounted to about 1,000 marks per family. Tens of thousands of artisans are struggling desperately to maintain a starvation existence. The fascists, in

sharp contradiction to their own promises, call on the artisans to get jobs in the factories, there to work as wage laborers.

The owners of small trading enterprises are no better off. According to fascist sources—of 350,000 grocery shops, about three-quarters had an annual average turnover during 1936 of less than 20,000 marks for the year and an income of less than 100 marks monthly. The small shopkeepers are almost everywhere complaining of their unsatisfactory income and the number of bankruptcies is very large. Members of the liberal professions (doctors, lawyers, architects, etc.), are also disillusioned. Only the upper-grade employees of industrial undertakings, the upper strata of the municipal and state civil servants and the fascist party bosses are, along with the big capitalists and junkers, enjoying the benefits of the regime.

The sown area in Germany has been cut down. Over one and a half million hectares of valuable arable lands have been taken from the peasants by the fascists who use them for airports, military roads, and military exercise grounds. The peasant is enslaved; he cannot do with his farm what he wishes; he cannot sow and sell what he considers of advantage to himself; he cannot buy goods in the cheapest market, or sell them where he can get the best prices. The measures of the fascists have led to bankruptcy of many stock-breeding farms. Because of the shortage of cattle-fodder the recent period has seen the spread of cattle-plagues as a result of all kinds of epidemics, thus particularly hitting the small and middle peasantry. The small and middle peasants, many of whom have already been driven from their farms, are dictated to by the authorities as though their little farms were already at the disposal of the state. The German peasant is almost completely deprived of liberty.

The fascist state imposes compulsory low prices for agricultural products on the peasants whereas the latter are compelled to pay high prices for industrial goods, cattle-fodder, etc. Besides, land rent and the discount rate are high, while the production of cattle-fodder by the peasants themselves is hindered by compulsory sowing regulations. The children of the peasants, deprived of the opportunity of sustenance in the impoverished peasant family or on the strip of land inherited, are compelled in the majority of cases to become agricultural laborers; it is becoming increasingly difficult to set up new peasant farms, and fascism, with its weak land policy, permits the settlement, as a general rule, of only middle and rich peasants.

But if the small peasant lives badly, the lot of the German agricultural laborer is still worse. Low wages, miserable living conditions and rough treatment are the lot of the agricultural worker of Germany. It is becoming almost impossible to change one's place of work or trade. The fascists have published a number of regulations prohibiting agricultural laborers from leaving their place of work, or compelling them to return the village from the towns. What is more, from time to time the urban workers and, first and foremost, boys and girls are sent to the village on compulsory labor. Many villages in this connection are concealed hotbeds of unrest and dissatisfaction.

Under the fascist dictatorship the national income provides still greater advantages to finance capital. According to fascist sources, the income of employers during the first three years of the fascist economic policy increased on an average of 50 per cent. In 1935, the employers made 5,000 million marks more than in 1932. Whereas in 1932 the income of the employers amounted to 24.5 per cent of the total national income, in 1935 it was 28.1 per cent. In the financial year of 1936-37, 2,000 million marks more were paid in taxation than during the year of the biggest taxation receipts before the 1929-30 crisis. In 1929-30, 12 per cent of the national income went into the state coffers in the form of taxation, but in 1936-37 it was 19 per cent. The explanation of this is

the increase in mass taxation, the sum total of which, compared with 1929, has increased by more than 2,300 million marks. These figures show how painstaking the fascists are in lightening the "burden of taxation" on big capital. New taxation was introduced only for the masses, but not at all for the rich. We have taken these figures from fascist sources the aim of which is to gloss over the rapacious, anti-people's character of fascism. Actually big capital is growing richer and richer at the expense of the increasing need of the people.

The conditions of the masses in Germany are becoming worse and worse. All hope that they will be changed by the ruling fascist parasites is vanishing even among those who have hitherto nourished certain illusions on that score. The majority of the people are horror-stricken at the thought of war in Europe. Hitler's colonial demands still further increase this fear of war. The longing for liberty grows side by side with fear of the provocative adventures of the fascists. The mass base of fascism has narrowed down and is increasingly doing so. It is absolutely clear that the urban petty bourgeoisie and the peasantry are in their dissatisfaction seeking for a new line, as is proved by the failure of the attempts of the fascists to crush the opposition among the churchmen.

Hence the pre-conditions for the organization of a German anti-fascist People's Front are becoming more and more favorable. The appeal to organize this People's Front for bread, liberty and peace, issued by the committee headed by the writer and poet, Heinrich Mann, met with a response among the masses in Germany. Heinrich Mann is receiving letters from all corners of the country, from all sections of the working people of Germany, full of expressions of heartfelt approval.

But it would be a mistake to shut one's eyes to the fact that there are still great difficulties to overcome in this sphere. The working class—if we do not count the small actions taken in the factories—have not yet come into motion. In many parts of the country there still exists a certain disbelief in the ranks of the working class in the possibility of bringing the People's Front into being, in connection with the future to regulate the relations between Communists, Social-Democrats and Catholic workers—a disbelief still fostered by the reactionary Social-Democratic leadership. But this political disbelief must be overcome, otherwise the working class will not become a fighting force.

Many of the best active fighters of the working class movement have been killed by the fascists. The majority of the old active fighters still languish in prisons and concentration camps, or are in exile. The young, bold active fighters, frequently lacking sufficient political experience and experience of organizing mass battles, are in need of leadership. At times they also lack clarity as to the prospects ahead. The Central Committee of the Social-Democratic Party has completely given up the work of giving organizational aid to the masses inside the country. In its resistance to the united People's Front the Central Committee of the Socialist Party of Germany has tried to belittle the importance of the examples of France and Spain in the eyes of the German workers. It conceals from the German workers the efforts of the Soviet trade unions and the trade union organizations of other countries to establish international trade union unity. It does not inform the German workers of manifestations of international solidarity with the Spanish and Chinese peoples, and informs them in only a narrow and restricted form of the aid to the German people.

Social-Democracy is torn by a factional struggle resulting in confusion among the masses. The Trotskyists, more dangerous in Germany than in countries where the labor movement is legal, are endeavoring, in alliance with the Gestapo, to destroy the revolutinary groups, and utilize the split-up character of the Social-Democratic groups to bring still further disorganization into the working class. The Central Committee of

the Socialist Party of Germany, by its policy of capitulation to capitalism and by its efforts at compromise with one or another section of reaction even before the Hitler dictatorship and during it, objectively adopted a position advantageous to fascism. To this very day the Central Committee of the Socialist Party of Germany rejects the united front with the Communists. This is the chief cause retarding the organization of action on a wide scale by the workers of Germany. But if working class action is not organized, the middle sections of the population will not find a correct orientation.

The People's Front will be impossible as long as the basic masses of the workers—Social-Democrats and Communists do not rally together for joint struggle.

Social-Democrats and Communists are coming closer together in many plants, primarily in the middle-sized ones. But it has in many cases till now proved impossible to establish close relations between both party organizations outside the enterprises, because of the opposition of the leadership of the Social-Democratic Party of Germany. In several large and small towns, the united front has been established between the Communist and Social-Democratic Parties. This has taken place against the will of the Social-Democratic leadership. But the existing achievements are still totally inadequate. Leadership of the growing solidarity movement, leadership and aid in the organization of the struggle for wage increases, for shorter working hours and better working conditions, can encourage the establishment of the united front. This assistance will help to overcome the mutual mistrust.

The German anti-fascist front must be set up in Germany itself. The role of those abroad is to help to unite the masses and their organizations inside the country, to give concrete assistance to the masses inside the country itself, to gather closer together so as to become a firm support of the German People's Front abroad; those abroad must come forward publicly before the whole world on behalf of the German anti-fascist People's Front, appealing for support to the working class throughout the world, to their organizations and to the progressive forces. But those abroad cannot and must not have pretensions at having the decisive voice on all questions arising in the party groupings of the most varied tendencies inside the country. They must foster an exchange of experience, inform the press and anti-fascist organizations of what is taking place in Germany.

The organization of the German fighting People's Front against Hitler fascism requires the consolidation of all anti-fascists. Hence, the activities of the supporters of the People's Front must be directed primarily towards gathering the representatives of all organized forces into one anti-fascist front. Leaders who up till now have shirked this must be compelled to give up their hostile attitude. Either that or they should be replaced by new leaders. If there are any differences of opinion on questions among the supporters of the People's Front, this means that there is not yet enough clarity on the basic line of common action, that we have not yet in this common work learned to resist the disorganizing maneuvers of opponents.

The Central Committee of the Socialist Party of Germany is steering a course towards the restoration of the coalition with the big bourgeoisie. Hence we find not only stubborn rejection of the united front with the Communists, not only a denial of the need to aid the German masses in organizing their struggle, but also slanderous calumny of the U.S.S.R., the strongest factor making for peace, on the part of the reactionary elements of Social-Democracy—our old acquaintances of the *Neue Vorwaerts*. This line of the reactionary leadership helps to strengthen fascism, helps it to prepare for war and, in the future, may once more lead the Social-Democratic leadership into a position of direct aid to the counter-revolution.

The line of coalition with the big bourgeoisie is built up on the calculation of internal strife in the upper ranks of the big bourgeoisie and on the exclusion from

the struggle of the mass force of the working class and the people.

The line is all the more dangerous in that it is based on the theory of the inevitability of war and partially on speculative appeals for aid to the big bourgeoisie who at one time welcomed fascism with open arms and financed it. Behind this line are concealed elements even of compromise with fascism. As is known, members of the Central Committee of the Socialist Party of Germany sought for compromises of this kind as early as 1933. It is precisely on this basis that Trotskyite elements are ever more energetically trying to penetrate into the columns of the *Neue Vorwaerts* and increase the differences. This facilitates the destructive work inside the labor movement of the Trotskyite agents of the Gestapo. The interests of our working class, of our people, demand that the Social-Democratic leadership rejects this line, ceases the slander of the U.S.S.R. and breaks with the Trotskyites. The fascist regime must be overthrown; fascism must be uprooted.

But the destruction of these roots of fascism by the establishment of a new type of democratic republic, based on the organized People's Front, is precisely what the German Social-Democratic leadership still refuses to recognize, while remaining true to its old line of coalition.

As long as there is no clarity on the main line, no agreement, the establishment of the united and People's Front will be hindered. Many Social-Democrats have declared against the line of leadership and for the perspective of a People's Front. But the supporters of Social-Democracy inside the country are still not adequately enough imbued with this idea. The task of all Social-Democratic supporters of the People's Front inside Social-Democracy is to indicate the main line to be followed in order to spur the leadership to give up its line, to shake off its political passivity and give up its hostility to the united and People's Front.

We Communists are against any weakening of any organization of anti-fascists, for this may lead to weakening the entire struggle against fascism. But certain Lefts inside German Social-Democracy refrain from criticizing the reactionary majority of their Central Committee, despite the fact that it refuses to operate its own decisions of 1934, thus causing much harm to the working class cause and weakening the anti-fascist struggle.

Many "political motives" advanced by the Central Committee of the Socialist Party of Germany to explain its opposition to the united front have now gone by the board. The accusation that it is a maneuver of the Communists for the purpose of destroying Social-Democracy has gone by the board, as has the assertion that the "fratricidal struggle" of the past still looms too much over the present; that "demonstrations are not organized"; that the united front with the Communists will drive away the peasantry and urban middle classes; that members of the Socialist Party of Germany and active fighters inside the country are allegedly against the People's Front policy; that it will do harm to the organizations of both sides, etc. The argument that German Social-Democracy cannot be the only party of the Second International to conclude a united front with the Communists has gone by the board, as has the assertion that the Communists allegedly hold the viewpoint of "all or nothing, *i.e.*, either the Soviet Republic or nothing at all." This motive went by the board both as a result of numerous declarations and of the entire policy of the Communist Party of Germany, as well as by virtue of the practical activities of various parties of the Comintern (not to mention the fact that the Communists have never defended such a stupidly mechanical viewpoint).

All these pretexts have been definitely refuted by facts. There are no political motives whatsoever for hostility to the People's Front, if only there are no objections in principle to the perspective of the anti-fascist People's Front and a

republic based on the People's Front. This should be clear to all.

The five years of the existence of fascism have been a bitter lesson. It is time already that there was a response to the persistent warnings of our Comrade Wilhelm Pieck, taken up by the well-known writer Heinrich Mann and many others; it is time there was unity, for there can be no doubt that Hitler lives only by reason of the split among his opponents. The overthrow of the fascist dictatorship depends on the speed and determination with which all anti-fascists rally together their forces.

What forces can unite in the German People's Front? The working class, the middle classes, the peasantry, the intelligentsia, in a word, all those sections of the people oppressed and exploited by fascist monopolist capital; all those whose free activity has been paralyzed by fascism, namely, the Communists, Social-Democrats, members of the Catholic Centre Party, of the new party of freedom, and all democratic groups. They will be joined by millions of people deceived and disillusioned by fascism, millions of those who have already left, and who are moving away from fascism—atheists and Catholics, Protestants and Jews, all those who are against fascism. There are no motives of any weight for rejecting the idea of establishing such a People's Front. Only the establishment of such a People's Front can shorten the road of the suffering of our people, overthrow fascism and preserve peace for our country and for the whole of Europe.

We Shall Not Weaken Our Struggle for Working Class Unity

BY K. GOTTWALD

ON THE occasion of the twentieth anniversary of the great October Socialist Revolution, Comrade Dimitroff wrote an article of great importance entitled: "The Soviet Union and the Working Class of Capitalist Countries." In this article Comrade Dimitroff indicated the *most important lessons of principle* to be drawn from the twenty years of the existence of the October Revolution by the proletariat of the capitalist countries.

The fascist and reactionary press throughout the world responded to Comrade Dimitroff's statements and conclusions with furious streams of slander, oaths and fabrications. Nothing else was to be expected from the horde of fascists and reactionaries, especially in relation to Comrade Dimitroff's articles. What is there astonishing in the fact that they bellow and fume at the mere name of Dimitroff, just as Goering did one day in Leipzig? The fury of the fascist and reactionary press shows that Comrade Dimitroff hit the mark.

But what is more distressing is what certain Social-Democratic leaders and newspapers have written and are now writing in a number of countries in connection with Comrade Dimitroff's article. They have used Comrade Dimitroff's article as a *pretext* for intensifying the campaign against working class unity and the anti-fascist People's Front.

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One would have thought that the twentieth anniversary of the October Revolution would make every responsible leader of the working class ponder seriously over its lessons; ponder seriously over the question as to how it happened that in one-sixth of the globe the working class was able to emerge victorious, to conquer power and to build socialism; to ponder seriously as to how it happened that in many countries capitalism has, to a certain extent and temporarily, managed to heal up the deep wounds of the world war and grip whole peoples in the vise of fascism; to ponder seriously over the question as to why, twenty years after the World War, fascism can conduct bloody wars of aggression with impunity on three continents and kindle the fire of a new world war; finally, to ponder seriously as to which road should be taken by the international labor movement, so as to protect itself and the whole of mankind from the catastrophe of a new war. Comrade Dimitroff throws light on these questions in his article.

The central point of Comrade Dimitroff's article is the question of overcoming the split in the ranks of the working class, a task upon the solution of which all the rest depends. What is the basis today already on which all currents of the labor movement can unite and act together? Comrade Dimitroff formulates the most important shock task of the entire international working class in the following way:

"At all costs, to bar the road to fascism in the bourgeois democratic countries, to overthrow fascism in the countries where it is in power, and to defend world peace against the fascist war-makers."

After analyzing all that has already been achieved in this sphere, Dimitroff makes the following prognosis:

"It may be said with confidence that by the twentieth anniversary of the great October Socialist Revolution, the working classes of the capitalist countries are *closely approaching the liquidation of the split* in the world working class movement brought into being by Social-Democratism. There are still many difficulties and obstacles of an ideological, political and organizational character in the way of liquidating this split. . . .

"But there are no such difficulties and obstacles on the path to unity in the struggle against fascism and war that the working class cannot overcome, if they are filled with the firm determination to unite their forces and fulfil their historic mission.

"The existence of the land of socialism, that powerful buttress of the struggle of the international proletariat, the buttress of peace, liberty and progress, *is a tremendous factor in the liquidation of the split in the ranks of the world working class movement.*"

It is characteristic that a number of critics do not dwell at all upon *this basic question of the contemporary labor movement.* These critics preferred to attack Dimitroff for his line on the question of the historic role of Social-Democratism and for the opinion he expressed that the attitude towards the Soviet Union is the historical dividing line between the forces of fascism, war and capitalism, and the forces of peace, democracy and socialism.

* * *

The conviction that working class unity is necessary has penetrated so deep into the ranks of the working class throughout the world that no opponent of unity will make so bold as to declare *openly:* "I am against unity." He usually says: "*In principle* I am for unity, but. . . ." And then begin the numerous "buts," pretexts, evasions, prevarications, wherewith they wish to justify what at bottom is a hostile attitude towards unity. Such methods are to be observed today in the polemics around Comrade Dimitroff's article.

Certain critics pretend to be indignant at the fact that Comrade Dimitroff dares at all to expound Communist, Bolshevik views on the various questions of the labor movement. They shout about people wanting to impose these views upon Social-Democrats and about it being incompatible with the striving for a united front with the Social-Democratic Parties.

But, one moment! We Communists defend the ideology and practice that have led to the victory of the working class on one-sixth of the earth. Therefore we consider ourselves particularly within our rights in expounding our views, our ideology and our tactics, and in fighting for them. We have no desire to impose our opinions, but we wish to *convince* all those who are ready to listen to the voice of logic. Incidentally, we recognize you also to have similar rights. We have never, as a condition for united action with the Social-Democratic Party, advanced the demand that the Social-Democratic Party should give up the defense of its views. Why then raise such hullabaloo when a Communist expresses his opinion?

Other critics are intensely surprised at the fact that the Communists have not changed their viewpoint as to the historical role of Social-Democratism, that the Communists are convinced, as hitherto, of the need to overcome Social-Democratism as the ideology and practice of class collaboration with the bourgeoisie, or, in other words, as the ideology and practice of subordinating the class interests of the working class to the class interests of the bourgeoisie.

Such an opinion, say they, aims at destroying the Social-Democratic Parties and, consequently, the united front with the Communists is inadmissable for these parties. There is nothing more mistaken than such a supposition! Experience, actual practice, refute this.

Take Spain, for example. Thanks to its active anti-fascist struggle in a united, and in a People's Front, the Spanish Socialist Party is to an ever-growing degree departing from the positions of Social-Democratism. Has this led to the ruin and destruction of the Socialist Party? Not in the least! On the contrary, everybody knows that the influence of the Spanish Socialist Party was never so great as it it today! Take the example of France where the Socialist Party, thanks to its transition to the position of the united and People's Front, has taken a step away from the position of Social-Democratism. How has this affected the fate of the party? We all know that the French Socialist Party has only gained thereby. Whence, then, the fear when Communists speak of the need to overcome Social-Democratism? Is it not the case that for the existing Social-Democratic Parties thoroughly to defend the interests of the working class, Social-Democratism must be overcome in their own ranks?

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It is historically incorrect, say others, to place the responsibility upon Social-Democracy in general, or on Social-Democracy alone, for the split in the working class, for the failure of the working class to utilize the opportunity of seizing power in the Central European countries after the war of 1914-18, as well as for the victory of fascism in certain countries, particularly in Germany. The Communists, they say, bear at least the same amount of responsibility, and altogether it is impermissible for them to throw such blame on their future allies.

Of course, in certain countries, Communists also committed a number of errors in their policy and tactics in the struggle against fascism. It was precisely Comrade Dimitroff who sharply criticized this sectarian type of errors at the Seventh Congress of the Communist International. And more than one Social-Democrat has very often poked fun at our criticism and self-criticism. But this is not the point at the moment. Political and tactical errors can be made by any party. It is not this question that is being discussed, *but the question of the line of principle, of the path of principle of the working class movement.*

And here we argue as follows: twenty years ago, at any rate in a number of important European countries a situation existed where the working class could have won power. This situation was made use of where the majority of the working people took the road indicated to them by the *Communist-Bolsheviks, the Party of Lenin-Stalin, i.e.,* in former tsarist Russia, in what is now the Soviet Union. But in those countries where the majority of the working class took the *road of Social-Democratism,* the historically rare opportunity for conquering power was missed, and capitalism succeeded in saving itself. There you have it: two paths—two results.

On the road of Bolshevism—power in the hands of the working class, the building of socialism. On the road of Social-Democratism—power in the hands of the capitalists with all the horrors of fascism and the menace of a new world war. That is a historical fact obvious to all. There is no single country where the working class has conquered and won power by following the *recipe of Social-Democratism.* But there is an extensive country—one-sixth of the world—where the working class twenty years ago emerged victorious by following the *recipe of Bolshevism,* and where it firmly holds power in its hands and is building socialism. And it is in the interests of the future victory of the working class throughout the world to draw the neces-

sary lessons from this historical fact.

It is not a question here of "guilt" in the moral sense. The question of guilt or innocence is not being raised at all. The question raised is what road justified itself. What road brought good results to the working class? And that is precisely our road. We say this openly and try to convince others of it. Many Social-Democratic leaders think otherwise; they think that it is their road, and not the road of Communism that has withstood the test of history. Very well we can continue to have a friendly discussion on that point in the future. But must differences of opinion on this question lead to the rejection of united action against fascism and war? Under no circumstances! Incidently, this is being repeatedly confirmed by the behavior of the Communists. Many Social-Democratic Parties and leaders criticize our line of principle very often and even very sharply, and sometimes very angrily. But we have not drawn the conclusion therefrom that we cannot undertake united action with these parties against fascism and war.

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Certain critics are very much dissatisfied with the following important assertion made by Comrade Dimitroff:

"The *historical dividing line* between the forces of fascism, war and capitalism, on the one hand, and the forces of peace, democracy and socialism on the other hand, is in fact becoming the *attitude* towards the Soviet Union, and not the formal attitude towards Soviet power and socialism in general, but the *attitude* to the Soviet Union which has been carrying on a real existence for twenty years already, with its untiring struggle against the enemies, with its dictatorship of the working class and the Stalin Constitution, with the leading role of the Party of Lenin-Stalin."

What is it that people take exception to in this clearly correct thesis? Chiefly the assertion that what is important is not so much to declare in favor of some abstract socialism, for "socialism in general," but firmly and clearly to state one's attitude to the *already existing* socialism, to the *already existing* Soviet government, to the *already existing* Soviet Union.

The Soviet Union is a bulwark in the struggle for peace. It is a bulwark in the struggle against fascism. It is a powerful support in the struggle to establish working class unity. It is a beacon lighting up the way to a happy future for the international working class and all toiling humanity, past all the horrors of capitalism and fascism. All the enemies of the international working class, all reactionary and fascist obscurantists and savages, all the warmongers are in our time the most ferocious deadly enemies of the U.S.S.R. What hesitations can there be here? How can one fail to understand that *in the interests of the labor movement in one's own country*, one must unreservedly recognize and support the Soviet Union?

Unfortunately there are those people among the leaders of Social-Democracy who have no wish to understand this. And it appears out of place to them if they are asked for an unequivocally positive attitude towards the Soviet Union. They adopt the pose of "sovereign thinkers" and "critically thinking persons" and declare: "We, of course, are in favor of socialism, but is there real socialism in the Soviet Union?" You threefold wiseacres! Have you built another, better, socialism anywhere on this earth? No, you have not; it has been built by the Communists in the Soviet Union, and no other socialism exists!

Or they complain: "Just look what the Communists demand of us. They declare that a positive attitude towards the Soviet Union implies condemnation of the Trotskyites. But why ever should we interfere in the factional fight among the Communists?" And yet, if you were to

go right into it all, you would long ago have come to the conclusion that the question of Trotskyism long ago ceased to be a factional question of the Communists, or even a question of a political current in the ranks of the working class. Those who, in the struggle against the socialist state, resort to sabotage, espionage, wrecking, plots and attempts on the lives of people, are in the camp of the worst enemies of the working people, in the camp of fascism. And you admit, in words, don't you, that the Soviet Union must be defended against fascism? Why, then, is it so difficult for you to grasp the point that the agent of fascism—Trotskyism—must be condemned and destroyed?

In short, from whatever angle we look at this question, we inevitably come to the one conclusion that you have to recognize the Soviet Union if you want not to bring grist to the mill of the enemy. Let us be correctly understood: we by no means demand of Socialist Party leaders that they should, without a moment's thought, and taking our word for it, accept everything that comes from the Soviet Union. But we want to arouse them to examine, judge, evaluate the Soviet Union from the viewpoint of the tremendous historical role played in the age-old liberation movement of mankind. We are within our rights in demanding that they should not play into the hands of the enemies of the U.S.S.R. who are at the same time the enemies of the international labor movement.

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Some critics of Comrade Dimitroff feel insulted because Dimitroff speaks of the "reactionary leaders of the Socialist International" who "develop furious energy so as to turn back the wheel of history."

"Even in the face of the monstrous Germano-Italian intervention in Spain, the ferocious onslaught by the Japanese fascist-militarists on China and the exceptionally acute menace of a new world imperialist war, these leaders are doing everything possible to wreck every attempt at joint action by the Spanish and Chinese people, in defense of peace."

What is there insulting or untrue in that assertion? Unfortunately it is all too true!

It would indeed be useful to go into the question as to why it is that joint action by the international organizations of the working class has not yet been possible although the situation urgently demands it. If the Communists in certain countries, a few years ago, appealed to the Social-Democratic Parties for joint action, they usually were met with the reply: "The question of united action between the Socialist and Communist Parties must be decided on an international scale, from International to International on the basis of direct action."

When, later, the Communist International once again addressed a proposal to the Labor and Socialist International for negotiations on international united action, the reply it received was that the Labor and Socialist International could not give compulsory instructions to its parties, that it allowed them freedom of action on the question of collaboration with the Communists. Then, still later, in Annemasse, it (the L.S.I.) declared itself in favor in principle of joint action in aid of the Spanish people "wherever it is possible." But what was the result in practice? Very little, or almost nothing. Thus we see: first the parties threw the ball to the International. Then the International returned it to the parties. After that it returned it again to the International and then again did the journey back to the parties. What an undignified game!

One involuntarily asks oneself what else the Socialist leaders responsible for this game are waiting for. Why, we are already in the very midst of war at two most important points—Spain and China —in the very most savage, aggressive

war by fascism against peace-loving peoples. The outcome of this war is of tremendous importance for the working masses of the whole world and for the whole of mankind! In view of this, nothing, absolutely nothing, can justify the tactics of those Socialist leaders who still hamper joint action by all the international organizations of the working class. We speak of the leadership because we are convinced that the mass of the supporters of the various Socialist Parties do not share the viewpoint of the leadership. If a referendum were taken among the members of the Labor and Socialist International and of the International Federation of Trade Unions, the overwhelming majority of them would undoubtedly declare for united action internationally and nationally by all working class organizations in aid of the Spanish and Chinese peoples.

And we are sure that this desire of the masses for unity, for common action, for the common cause, will grow and make headway despite all obstacles!

British Foreign Policy in the Pacific

BY R. PAGE ARNOT

THE heaviest responsibility rests on the conduct of British foreign policy for the present condition of the world, with fascism threatening the liberties of mankind and the flames of war raging in both East and West. In the West of Europe it is the British National Government that has been responsible for the criminal subterfuge of "non-intervention" in Spain by which the fascist invaders were given a free hand to make their attempt upon the lives and liberties of the Spanish people. In the Far East it is a British responsibility that war is ravaging China,,and that the barbarians of fascist Japan are seeking to destroy the oldest of civilizations, just when the millions of its people were becoming fully awake to the possibilities of a new life.

It is in the name of the people of Britain that this foreign policy is conducted. It is for them to realize what this policy is, what it has meant and will mean in the near future; and it is for them and, in the first place, for the working class of Britain, to take the steps that can change this policy, and that by the building of *unity*, national and international, can call a halt to the warmongers.

* * *

British foreign policy in the Pacific, the interests of the largest capitalist empire in and around the shores of the largest ocean, has been concerned with maintaining a balance of power. But not a balance of power in the European sense. With the growth of the Dominions that border the Pacific, Canada, Australia, New Zealand, and with the century-old growth of British trade and investments in China, British foreign policy sought to prevent the incursion of its European rivals into Eastern waters by throwing Japan into the balance. The rising capitalist power of Japan was fostered by British foreign policy. At the end of the Sino-Japanese war of 1894-95, Britain intervened in favor of Japan. The Anglo-Japanese military alliance of 1902 maintained through the Russo-Japanese war of 1904-05 (which was possible only because of this alliance) and the imperialist World War of 1914-18, transformed the balance of power into an overwhelming preponderance of Anglo-Japanese imperialism in the Pacific. The Japanese intervention on Soviet territory was backed throughout by Britain.

Latterly the Anglo-Japanese Alliance was felt to be directed largely against the U.S.A. which at Washington in 1922 successfully insisted on its cancellation.

So there was erected the structure of the Washington Treaties, the Nine-Power Pact which purported to guarantee the territorial integrity of China and the Naval Treaties which defined the naval strength of the Pacific powers. But though the Anglo-Japanese Alliance was broken, the Anglo-Japanese "friendship" remained to corrode these solemn pacts. The Anglo-American antagonism was still there; and British foreign policy still relied on Japan to make a balance of power against the growth of American influence. Support of Japan

was also an essential element in the anti-Soviet direction of British foreign policy.

In 1931 this policy in the Far East reacted upon the whole foreign policy of Britain and heavily increased the responsibility of British imperialism for the growth of fascism and fascist war. When the Japanese militarists invaded Manchuria, Sir John Simon, then British Foreign Secretary, excused Japan at Geneva so effectively that the delighted Japanese delegate exclaimed that Sir John Simon had admirably put forward in a few minutes the Japanese case and better than he had been able to do it in three days.

The Covenant of the League of Nations, invoked by the Nanking Government of China, was not applied against the Japanese aggressor in consequence of the protecting attitude of Britain. Further, when State Secretary Stimson twice proposed joint diplomatic action of the U.S.A. with Britain, he was twice refused. The Japanese militarists drew from all this the obvious conclusion, and proceeded first to attack Shanghai in February, 1932 (the bombardment of Chapei), then to invade Jehol in 1933, while in December, 1932, they gave notice to denounce the Washington naval treaties. They did not consider it necessary to give notice to *denounce* the Nine Power Pact; they had already denounced it with their jack-boots, when they marched into Manchuria. The British imperialists prized the sanctity of friendship with Japan far above the sanctity of treaty obligations.

The Covenant of the League of Nations was thus lightly regarded by one of its chief signatory powers. Collective security had been dealt a deadly blow, and by the connivance of Britain in the Japanese rape of Manchuria, the gates were opened to fascism and war. The rise of Hitler fascism, the successive exits from the League of Japan, Germany, Italy, the fascist invasions of Ethiopia, Spain, China, all flowed from this act of the British National Government. And, ever since the entrance of the U.S.S.R. into the League of Nations in 1934 marked an endeavor of all progressive and enlightened mankind to shut the gates, British foreign policy has resisted or sabotaged the building of collective security.

In place of the interests of peace, the interests of the vast mass of the people, another kind of interest has determined the foreign policy of British imperialism.

THE CITY OF LONDON

In the heart of London, there is one square mile thronged by day and almost deserted by night except for janitors, watchmen and a dense coverage of policemen. This is the City of London. Once the city of the medieval guilds, and still retaining, under semi-medieval forms, a sort of independence from the rest of London, it is now the city of finance oligarchy, the City, in the midst of nine millions of Greater London, stands rather like Vatican City in the middle of Rome. In it stands the Bank of England and the headquarters of the other big banks, financial houses; here are to be found the Rothschilds, Barings; here is the Stock Exchange.

The City does not comprise the whole of the bourgeois interests of Britain, and does not even comprise the whole of the finance oligarchy; but it does comprise the most reactionary elements of finance capital, and the influence of the City on the government is correspondingly great. The gentlemen who comprise His Majesty's Government are linked by a thousand chains, of the finest gold, with the interests of the City. They hold shares in the great enterprises, and in the banks and financial houses. They would dislike very much to offend their friends, the millionaires of the City, and the more so because they would often be offending themselves. Now the City, in the last four years, has been going fascist, or, rather, pro-fascist. As yet, there are relatively few of the City who are fascist in the sense of supporting Sir Oswald Mosley and his Blackshirts, though there does appear to be a subterranean conduit into Mosley's coffers; nor

does it mean an indiscriminate support of any and every kind of fascism. It is pro-fascist primarily in the sense of pro-Hitler, pro-Franco, pro-any-fascist with whom they can conclude a profitable deal.

This was tellingly demonstrated in a conversation held a year and more ago in Paris between a representative of the British Foreign Office and a leading French politician on the question of Spain. The dependence of British foreign policy on the interests of the City was made clear. The conversation as reported ran somewhat as follows:

"We know," said the Foreign Office spokesmen, "that you French want a Valencia victory. You are for the People's Front, for the republic, and against fascism. We think differently. We prefer to have business with General Franco. Of course, victory will cost him dear. The defeat of the Republicans will leave him weak and exhausted. He will be asking for material aid. Neither Italy nor Germany will be in a position to give him that aid. *We will give it. But in so doing we will put conditions to Franco, which will ensure our economic, political, and strategic position in Spain.*"

As with Franco, so it was with Mussolini (the Hoare-Laval pact), so it has been with Hitler and Schacht, so also with the Japanese fascists. Money talks all the time—and nowhere louder than in Downing Street. British foreign policy has become the loudspeaker for the moneybags of the City.

But now, see whither the politics of the National Government have led. In the Far East where this development of foreign policy began, it has led to Japanese attacks also upon British interests. The National Government, seeking to play a double game, has badly overreached itself. The cunning calculations that Japan's preoccupations in the Northeast of China would leave British interests safe on the Yangtze-kiang have proved to be a delusion. Not only in Shanghai where £180,000,000 of British capital is invested and where the Japanese fascists are seizing the International Settlement, but also in Hongkong and the extreme South, British interests are in serious peril. The British flag is trampled under foot, British gunboats are fired upon, British sailors killed, British policemen beaten up, and British ambassadors machine-gunned. And not a dog barks! Foreign Secretary Eden, like Bottom in Shakespeare's *Midsummer Night's Dream* may like to play the lion but only succeeds "to roar as gently as a sucking dove." He writes a note demanding apology. The Japanese send him back an apology and follow it up with another attack. He asks another apology. He gets it; and immediately after there comes still another attack. In the City of London, on its Stock Exchange, there is a custom of fixed monthly settlement day. It has almost come to the point where we may expect the government of the City to fix a regular day on which the Japanese will present and even will accept the apologies due for the month's casualties.

Why has the vaunted pride of the rulers of British imperialism fallen so far? Why must Britannia witness the visible decline of her prestige throughout the whole of Asia? Because the National Government's foreign policy has fostered the growth of fascism, which now threatens its benefactor. Because British foreign policy has sabotaged collective security, has betrayed Ethiopia, has favored Franco in Spain, has looked all over Europe to see whom it might betray as a sacrifice to appease Hitler (Yes, "Appeasement" is the propitiary phrase of the worshipful *Times*), and all to no purpose.

Strategically, too, they are in a cleft stick. If a force of warships be sent to the China Station, it denudes the Mediterranean, where Mussolini threatens British interests in the Near East. They thought they might get over that by concluding in November, 1936, the famous "Gentleman's Agreement" with Mussolini. But in Downing Street they are now observing with regret that Mussolini is "not a gentleman." He apparently prefers his ungentlemanly associates in Tokyo and Berlin; and carries on per-

sistent anti-British propaganda in Egypt and the Arab countries. The new Home Secretary of fascist Japan, Admiral Suetsuga, also apparently prefers the Berlin-Rome Axis to "the old friendship" of Britain and even threatens war on British imperialism if it does not clear out of the Far East.

And when the British imperialists in the Far East glance anxiously at their rear, at their "back door" of the Pacific Ocean, their £9,000,000 naval base of Singapore (completed on February 13 of this year), they discover that that too is threatened from the Japanese air-dromes in Siam, which in a few years has emerged from its traditional British tutelage and has been transformed into an outpost of Japan.

Yet, in spite of all this, with British imperialist prestige dropping lower and lower, British foreign policy in the Pacific still cultivates the "friendship" of fascist Japan. Remonstrating feebly with the aggressors, they supply that aggressor with all that he needs to carry on his war of barbarity against the Chinese people. Economically, Japan is sustained largely by the British or British-Dutch empires.

Financially, the City of London, to which £8,000,000 of interest in Japanese state bonds has been flowing in yearly, is deeply interested in the maintenance of Japan. Viscount Ishii has been busily engaged in London during the winter trying to raise a new loan from the city financiers. It was Ishii who in 1915 signed the agreement with the United States Secretary Lansing by which Japan sought to impose a virtual protectorate over Northern China. Diplomatically, British foreign policy was instrumental in preventing boycott action against Japan at the Brussels Nine Power Pact Conference of November; and the extension of the anti-Comintern Treaty of Japan-Germany to include Italy at Rome on November 6, was followed not by a protest from Britain (against whose possessions this triple fascist alliance is also directed), but within ten days by the friendly "purely private" visit of Lord Halifax to Berlin. Thus, no matter how peevishly the *Times* may write about the "excesses" of the Japanese armed forces, factually, by refusing a boycott as well as by its general attitude to the fascist warmongers, British foreign policy is supporting Japan even now.

This has not excluded "the exploration of other avenues." An attempt is being made for a rapprochement with the U.S.A. But here the factors of the long-standing Anglo-American antagonism yield but slowly to new pressures, where these pressures have behind them no strong will to peace and democracy. In January it was announced that following on the raising of the question by McKenzie King, Premier of Canada, at the British Imperial Conference last June, the negotiations for an Anglo-American trade treaty were now to begin. How many months this may take is unknown; for it cannot be a rapid process. But the flames of war are a very rapid process; and against them slow measures are of no avail.

But one avenue—that of collective security—the British imperialists do not explore. British imperialism, if it wished to break with Japan and really to support a policy for peace and democracy, could find associates for such an aim, associates who up till now have done the most to keep the peace. Together with the peace policy of the U.S.S.R., the main bulwark for peace, the Franco-Soviet and the Czecho-Soviet Pacts have been the factor of strength in the peace-framework of the League of Nations. So far from entering this avenue British foreign policy, turning its back upon the Franco-Soviet Pact, has been moving in the direction of a Western Four Power Pact to emasculate the League of Nations Covenant, and only on January 7 received the report of its catspaw Van Zeeland (regarding the reorganization of the League).

Once again British foreign policy is responsible for rejecting the means to peace and for its attempt to support the fascist warmongers.

But a still greater responsibility rests upon the people of Britain, if they do not throw in every ounce of effort to change the disastrous foreign policy. For the way to peace is perfectly clear. It is, so to speak, staring them in the face. In Spain and in China it is the peace and liberties of Britain and of the whole world that are being heroically defended. To help them to win as speedily as possible is the most immediate way to stave off war. And the maintenance of peace against these and further fascist attempts depends on the realization of collective security.

A conjunction of the U.S.S.R., France and Britain, and of the U.S.A. administration would suffice to establish collective security and to curb the warmongers.

But to bring about this change of British foreign policy will require not merely aspirations but pressure on the government; and that pressure can be effective only if it is based on unity of the mass of the British people and first of all of the working class. Without unity, the desire for peace and the support of democracy are doomed to be ineffective. For who wills peace must also will unity. Therefore the fight against unity inveterately carried on by the Right-wing leaders of the trade unions (Bevin, Citrine, etc.), actually militates against peace, against the defense of democracy.

So long as the fight is carried on against unity, so long as the slanders against the U.S.S.R. and the heroic fighters of Spain are given currency, the City of London and the government of the City will feel they may continue with a policy that has proved itself disastrous for the people of Britain, that has helped the growth of fascism and war and therefore threatens the lives and liberties of mankind.

The cause of peace is defended by the peace policy of the U.S.S.R., by the heroism of the Spanish and Chinese peoples, through the help given by those who came to their aid. The front of peace is growing: and the fascists have encountered a resistance which has made them pause. But there is no time to lose. The fight for unity in Britain, as the way to compel a change of the National Government's policy, is terribly urgent. And every member of the working class, every supporter of peace and democracy must realize the tremendous responsibility that rests on them during the next few months for the policy to be pursued by Britain.

The front of peace is growing. There is every reason to be of good courage. The mood of despondency found in some circles (it oozes out of the columns of the *New Statesman and Nation*) is utterly unwarranted. Only let us in Britain play our part; only let us do it with full consciousness of the actual as well as the potential barriers in the way of fascism. These serried barriers rule out despondency and hearten the fight for peace and democracy throughout the world.

First, there is the system of international treaties, which retain their validity and of which the system of the League of Nations is a large part.

The efforts of the fascist powers from without, seconded by the efforts of British foreign policy from within (so-called reform of the League, etc.), have been unable to pull down this structure of international treaties.

Second, there are the smaller treaty groupings, such as the Balkan Entente, the Little Entente, the Oslo Powers, the Four Power Pact of Asia (Turkey, Iraq, Persia, Afghanistan) and others.

The assaults of fascist diplomacy have here and there weakened these groupings but nowhere have they succeeded in breaking them down. The more insidious workings of British diplomacy have not succeeded in atomizing any of these collective groups.

Third, there is the People's Front in France, a barrier to fascism; in China a gathering together in solidarity of nigh a quarter of mankind against the fascist invaders; in Spain the resurrection of a people and soon to be the grave of fascism.

The unity which has been fortified in these three countries is growing in greater or lesser degree in all others. Its chief constituent, working class unity, is increasing despite all difficulties. Even in the Amsterdam International, so long the home of reactionary policies, the weakening of the Citrine influence and the growth to unity are seen in the agreement entered upon in November with the Soviet trade unions.

Lastly, there is the Soviet Union, which is not only an obstacle to fascism, but a barrier that grows higher every year, every month. Not only the U.S.S.R.'s foremost place in the struggle for peace, but everything that makes up the U.S.S.R. is part of this growing barrier. And how quickly it grows! Its victories in the last year alone almost baffle description: its harvest increased at a stroke by 50 per cent; its deepening and widening surge of Stakhanovism in field, factory and workshop, on land, air and sea, opening out the prospect of communist society; its Polar pioneers; its science; its increase in material and spiritual well-being of the working people of a sixth part of the globe. The timely extirpation of the Trotskyite-Bukharinite "Fifth Column" of fascism has gone hand-in-hand with a renewal of vigilance and effectiveness among the membership of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

With that Party, united in an electoral bloc, non-Party candidates went forward, non-Party masses voted in their millions, on December 12. They were voting for all that the U.S.S.R. has stood for, all that it has meant for the masses, all that the Communist Party of the Soviet Union has fought for and won. The victory of the peoples of the Soviet Union, victory over capitalist slavery, victory of full and thoroughly consistent democracy, victory of socialism, is written into the Constitution of the U.S.S.R. It is stated in the words of Stalin:

"At the present time, when the foul wave of fascism is besmirching the socialist movement of the working class and trampling in the mud the democratic strivings of the best people of the civilized world, the new Constitution of the U.S.S.R. will be an indictment of fascism, testifying that socialism and democracy are invincible. The new Constitution of the U.S.S.R. will be a moral aid and real assistance to all those who today are fighting fascist barbarism."*

* *Stalin on the New Soviet Constitution*, p. 30, International Publishers, New York.

The Road of a Left Social-Democrat

BY ERNST FISCHER

IN 1927 an Austrian journalist tried to make me believe that a tremendous misfortune for the labor movement was the erudition of its leaders and that we must, apparently, at long last have the courage to proclaim the "praise of ignorance." This journalist, like myself, was editor of the Social-Democratic *Arbeiterzeitung* and had nothing in common, nor was in any way related to the old Christian Socialist Bilolovek, who at one time threw at his opponents the words: "A mere glance at such a book is enough to make me feel fed up."

The article by Austriacus, a "revolutionary" Socialist, published in the November *Kampf* reminded me of that conversation. Ten years have passed by since then. The world has changed very considerably. Many who at one time, like myself, were imbued with Social-Democratic prejudices, have become Communists under the influence of profound political upheavals and incontrovertible political lessons; others have not yet arrived at that point, are still fighting against specters of the past, being without sufficient strength to overcome them once and for all; others have marked time and stopped still, like Austriacus, who opens his mouth once more to proclaim the "praise of ignorance," the stagnant immobility of man, proud that he has learned nothing and forgotten nothing.

In his article "What Divides Us From Trotskyism," * he refers to an article of mine on Trotskyism, printed in 1927 in the *Arbeiterzeitung*. It is true that at that time Trotsky made some impression on me and, I suppose, it would be of some use to analyze the reasons for this phenomenon, of some use since in our day there are some revolutionary Socialists, apparently, who have not yet discovered the true nature of this blood-stained adventurer.

But first, a few words about Austriacus himself. All that separates him from Trotskyism is that in his self-satisfied ignorance he has not even read Trotsky properly. The false and fatal theory of the "permanent revolution," borrowed by Trotsky from Parvus and Rosa Luxemburg, has little in common with what Austriacus has reduced to "permanent readiness for revolution." I mention this only in order to characterize the indescribable superficiality of people like Austriacus, who pose as the mentors of the labor movement. This indescribable superficiality is combined with the slovenliness of half-spoken insinuations. Having quoted an excerpt from my article on Trotsky, Austriacus adds:

"This is what Ernst Fischer writes of Trotsky. True this was in the days when he could as a Social-Democrat freely express his opinion. . . . Since then, some of his arguments have, perhaps, changed: the change, by the way, has taken place not with Trotsky, of whom Fischer once gave a brilliant character, but with Ernst Fischer himself—or the circumstances under which he writes."

Austriacus wants with these "smart" hints to create the impression that poor Ernst Fischer was a free man in the editorial office of the *Arbeiterzeitung*, while now he is writing in "circum-

* See *Kampf*, November, 1937.

stances" which restrict his freedom. Let Austriacus set his mind at rest: the "circumstances" in which I write at the present moment are immeasurably more favorable for freedom of thought and truthful expression than those under the influence of which I worked ten years ago. As I read over what I wrote then and what Austriacus adds to it today, I regard the road I have traversed with deep satisfaction and feel how much the pure, healthy air of Communism has changed all of us—all of us who have come from Social-Democracy. At that time also our attitude towards socialism was an honest one; we were indissolubly linked up with the working class, but what theoretical confusion, misunderstanding of the basic lessons of the revolution, what "Austro-Marxist" diffuseness and ambiguity! Our sympathy for the Soviet Union was unshakable, but we knew too little of what was going on in the land of Soviets, of the life-and-death struggle being waged by the Party of Lenin-Stalin against the countless enemies of socialism. Every year that passed saw an increase in our doubts concerning Social-Democracy, an increase in our opposition towards its policy, in our indignation at the everlasting capitulation to the class enemy; but it needed the February events of 1934 * to break us away finally from Social-Democracy and link us for ever with the Communist Party.

It is almost like seeing an apparition, when somebody like Austriacus, who has got lost on the roads of the past, reminds us of the days when we were in one and the same party with him and regarded him as a comrade. Enough of Austriacus and his like; an increasingly insignificant distance divides them from Trotsky, while their hatred of Communism, of the Soviet Union, is eating away like rust the last remnants of their connections with the labor movement. I appeal not to him and his like but to those revolutionary Socialists who are honestly fighting for clarity and truth, who are honestly striving to find the right road. I appeal to them not from the heights of self-satisfied omniscience, but as a friend and comrade who, while cutting his way through a host of problems, made many mistakes before finding firm ground beneath his feet. I appeal to them, since I again find in their discussions an echo of what for long was unclear to me and my comrades of the Left opposition.

And this is first and foremost the attitude towards Trotsky and Trotskyism. I see tremendous danger in the fact that young Socialists, trusting rather to nebulous feelings than to precise analysis, are by the most awful deception being turned away from the working class and brought into the camp of counter-revolution. Fascism has already learned how to employ radical phrases and revolutionary gestures in order to make use of anti-capitalist sentiments in the interests of capitalism itself. And now we are witness to a terrible spectacle when people who had hoped to overthrow the hated capitalist system are fighting tooth and nail to defend it.

Trotskyism tries to convert revolutionary-minded workers into shock troops of the counter-revolution, while the more ponderous fascism strives to convert the anti-capitalist small bourgeoisie into shock-brigades of capitalism. Trotskyism in its present phase, fascism after undergoing suitable treatment, is offered to the workers at a moment when, to the profound horror of the bourgeoisie, the working class is beginning to unite its ranks. It is precisely because we consider working class unity to be a decisive factor, because disunity in the ranks of the working class means tremendous misfortune, that we are so ardent in our struggle against Trotskyism.

How is there expressed the influence of Trotsky and Trotskyism over certain revolutionary Socialists? To answer this question I should like to relate quite frankly what it was that many years ago attracted me and a number of my friends to Trotsky and what it was that

* The armed battles of the workers in Austria, suppressed by the fascist government

drove us away from him while we were still in the ranks of Social-Democracy. Our knowledge of the Russian Revolution was far smaller than our love for it. We knew almost nothing about Trotsky's past. He came to us in the brilliance of the greatest revolution in world history. Unlike the truest, most tried comrades of Lenin, he was a self-satisfied literary man, who advertised himself well, and very persistently put his own ego to the forefront. His personality was "interesting" in the trite sense of the word, and attracted foreign correspondence more than did the great figures of Bolshevism who did their tremendous work without bragging about it. Trotsky was like a romantic opera hero. He fired our fantasy, and it seemed to us that we saw in him the "fiery word and broad gesture" of revolution.

But there were other, profounder reasons for this appraisal, dictated as it was by confused feelings. We were Social-Democrats. Our doubts as to the correctness of the road of Social-Democracy became more and more serious, while our oppositional resistance became more and more resolute.

We became honest Lefts, but nevertheless remained Social-Democrats and therefore were not always able to distinguish revolutionary phrases from revolutionary facts. On the one hand it was with growing astonishment that we watched the world historic achievements of the Soviet people under the leadership of Stalin; on the other hand, it seemed to us that Trotsky was a revolutionary agitator albeit misguided and incorrigible. True, we were surprised that the reactionary leaders of Social-Democracy in their struggle against Bolshevism more and more frequently used Trotsky as their main witness. But we supposed that Trotsky's hatred for the Soviet Union only manifested itself in literature, and not with the aid of dynamite and revolvers. We did not understand that the class struggle continues under the dictatorship of the proletariat as well, that the struggle of the various opposition groups against the Communist Party of the Soviet Union is a reflection of the ruthless class struggle going on in special conditions. We ourselves were in opposition to our party leadership and so, instinctively, were inclined to be lenient towards any opposition. But we did not understand the fundamental differences between ourselves and them, namely, the fact that we were a Left opposition in the Social-Democratic working class movement, whereas the "opposition" of Trotsky had nothing in common with the working class movement.

However, during the last years before the February battles we had already moved from the position we adopted in 1927. Under the pressure of events and with the growth of experience, we developed and came to the conclusion that there were two undoubted signs by which one could distinguish a Left Social-Democrat from all those who had merely mastered Left phrases: unconditional loyalty to the Soviet Union and a positive attitude towards the united front with the Communists. It was by these distinguishing signs that we were guided when we shook ourselves free of such "Lefts" as Spaak, whose group was seeking contact with us at that time. Our healthy disbelief in Spaak grew stronger because Austriacus and his friends set these "Lefts" before us as examples.

Communists would ask us at meetings: "How can you remain Social-Democrats, holding the views you do?" And we asked ourselves the same question. We had many reasons for remaining in the ranks of Social-Democracy: the last thing we wanted was a split—but we suffered from our irresoluteness and sought forever new arguments dividing us from the Communists. We found these "arguments" in Trotsky. We sometimes imagined ourselves to be "more Left" than the Communists. If you convince yourself that you are "more Left" than the Communists, then the need vanishes for making a firm decision as to the question of joining the Communist International. You can remain an "oppositionist" in the Second International with pretensions at the role of observer who stands above parties and regards

what is taking place "from above." Besides, of course, you run an enormous risk of finding yourself one fine day outside the labor movement and desperately sinking down into the camp of the enemy. Let revolutionary Socialists look this danger straight in the face as we have. Almost all those who considered themselves "more Left" than Lenin have become tools and accomplices of the counter-revolution. All those who are allegedly "more Left" than Stalin are menaced with the same fate if they do not examine themselves in good time and have the courage to admit their errors.

Today we see many things in a new light. We do not ask Left Social-Democrats: "Why aren't you Communists?" But we do ask them: "Are you really Left Social-Democrats, revolutionary Socialists?" We find the reply to this question in their attitude to the Soviet Union and the united front. The masses are moving to the Left; the victory of socialism in the U.S.S.R., and the fascist offensive against the working class, democracy and peace, have radically changed the situation.

A few years ago it was still possible for Left Social-Democrats to explain that they did not disassociate themselves from Trotsky in every respect; now that is impossible. I do not refer to the fact that Trotsky has been condemned by the testimony of his accomplices for the most shameful crimes against the working class of the U.S.S.R., against the Soviet people. I merely point to the fact that Trotsky, in his writings, preaches a violent coup in the U.S.S.R., that, like the fascists, he wages a furious struggle against the united and People's Front, that he and his supporters are plunging a knife into the back of the Spanish and Chinese fighters for freedom, are plotting revolts against the Spanish People's Front and the Chinese People's Army. In our days you can remain in the ranks of Social-Democracy and be an honest worker if you fight against fascism, for the united front, for the rallying of the working class in one revolutionary party, but it is not possible to be an honest revolutionary worker and fail to understand the counter-revolutionary role of Trotsky and Trotskyism and to collaborate in any form whatsoever with the Trotskyites. Therefore, if a "revolutionary" Socialist at the present time refers to what we said in error ten years ago about Trotsky, it is not only stupid and not in good taste, but also proves that such a collector of quotations is neither a revolutionary nor a Socialist.

On other questions revolutionary Socialists may with some justice refer to our position before the February fighting. Then, we decided to "draw up" a program for ourselves at our own risk, and were very proud that we were going on our own, and, as we thought, perfectly new road. It does not matter if, for a while, people reject all aid whatsoever and with difficulty lay down the road for themselves through the forest, instead of going along the highway paved by the proletariat over decades under the guidance of Marx and Engels, Lenin and Stalin. You move forward very slowly through the forest, but I will not deny that such a road through virgin forest is instructive, if only you don't get lost, if you cut through the prickly undergrowth and come out on the road of Marxism-Leninism. It is a necessary thing for every Communist to think independently, independently to digest the lessons and experience of the revolutionary working class movement. Every Communist must digest the splendid words of Lenin:

"If the study of Communism only consisted in mastering what is expounded in Communist works, booklets and pamphlets, then we would too easily get Communist bookworms and braggarts, but this would ever and anon do us harm and damage. . . . Now in our speeches and articles there is no simple repetition of what was formerly said about Communism, since our speeches and articles are connected with day-to-day and manifold work. Without work, without struggle, book knowledge of Communism from Communist pamphlets and works is worth absolutely nothing, since it would continue the old gap between theory and practice, that old gap which constituted

the most disgusting feature of the old bourgeois society." *

We demand of every Communist that he think independently, that he test and extend his knowledge daily on the basis of real life, but he cannot be a genuine revolutionary Socialist who ignores the colossal knowledge and experience passed on by Marx and Engels, Lenin and Stalin to the working class, and who imagines that he must himself, in person, discover what was long ago discovered and formulated in the most concise form. And when you follow the discussions of our revolutionary Socialists, it sometimes makes you downright desperate: they want to be "original," and yet only get confused on questions long ago solved; they lose time on "problems" that have ceased to be problems, while at the same time lag behind in solving truly burning, current questions of the contemporary period of struggle.

A few years ago the Austrian Left opposition put forward a program; we worked honestly and stubbornly over every thesis and were finally compelled to admit that all that was good in our program had been incomparably better formulated long ago, in the program of the Communist International.

There is false and childish pride in the self-satisfied conviction: "We worked it all out ourselves, we shall allow nobody to convince us of anything." On this basis, provincial anarchism, parochial isolation, easily arises. Our Left opposition was also not free of this false, childish pride. We said: "The Communists obey Moscow, the Communist International. And what can they say they know about Austria?"

The stupid lie of Trotsky, reiterated a hundred-fold by Social-Democracy, that a "hide-bound bureaucracy" rules in Moscow was very useful to us: it justified our irresolution. When we joined the Communist Party after the February battles, we were still not free of mistrust on this question. Indignant at the Social-Democratic bureaucracy, we decided not to subordinate ourselves to "Communist bureaucracy." And it turned out that this "bureaucracy" only existed in our imaginations. Overjoyed, and at the same time ashamed, we realized that it was the Social-Democrat bogey that had alarmed us. Never before had we had an opportunity of so freely expressing our opinions as in the Communist International. Never before had we thought it possible to have such criticism, such open discussion, such comradely collaboration. How long will the stupid fable about Communist "bureaucracy" influence the minds of honest Socialists, how long will our Socialist friends take as gospel truth this legend spread by renegades and reformists?

A spirit of democracy, comradeship and complete frankness, the lack of which we so painfully felt in Social-Democracy, reigns in the Austrian Communist Party and in the Communist International. There are no "orders from Moscow," but there are conferences with the leadership of the Communist International, and the advice of the tried and experienced revolutionaries at the head of our world Party; there is international solidarity and discipline; there is united action in the interests of victory over the class enemy. All decisions are taken at democratically-elected congresses and conferences, after open, frank discussion.

We, of course, will not deny that the advice of the Communist International is extremely valuable and important for us, that we have learned much, and are yet learning much from the victorious C.P.S.U. Let the revolutionary Socialists at last ponder seriously over the point as to how they would be assisted by connections with Moscow, participation in the analysis of world politics made by our world Communist Party, the use of the incomparable experience of people who victoriously carried through a great revolution and established socialism on one-sixth part of the world.

Can it be that the one who teaches the revolutionary Socialists must really be some Austriacus, who borrows his knowledge of the Soviet Union from

* Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. XXV, pp. 385-386. Russian edition.

hurriedly perused, slanderous books by Trotsky, and from Menshevik gossip? Is it possible that the word of people responsible for a tremendous defeat can have more meaning for revolutionary Socialists than the word of revolutionaries who have shown us that it is possible to win, who have taught us how to be victorious? Is it permissible to allow the profound and healthy sympathy towards the Soviet Union of the Austrian workers to be paralyzed by liberal petty-bourgeois and Trotskyite scoundrels, who cannot forgive the Soviet Union for having rendered traitors and criminals harmless in order to save the working class from incalculable misfortunes?

What is required of all revolutionary, of all honest, Socialists, is that they seriously and honestly define their attitude towards the Soviet Union and the Communist International, not on the basis of hostile information and superficial prejudices, but on the basis of a thorough study and comradely exchange of opinions with us Communists. We have no intention of playing the guardian to the revolutionary Socialists fighting for their world outlook; we do not intend to demand of them that they do anything against their own convictions, even if we consider these convictions to be incorrect. We only want them to join with us in the fight against Austrian fascism, and in their own interests to understand the danger with which Trotskyism is fraught: the danger of ideological poisoning, of organizational collapse, of the loss of valuable cadres to the advantage of the fascist counter-revolution. If you do not deal with Trotsky as we have done it will be fatal not only for your party: it will retard the entire Austrian working class.

Do you really consider us so crazy as to be able, in face of the deadly fascist enemy, specially to "acquire" a non-existing enemy—Trotskyism? Austriacus may make such an absurd assertion but if you open your eyes and look actualities in the fact without prejudice, you, like us, will be persuaded of the close collaboration between Trotskyism and fascism. I do not say that all those who trail along behind Trotskyism are traitors and provocateurs; if that were so everything would be considerably more simple. The most alarming thing is that not a few of those trailing along behind Trotskyism in the capitalist countries are deceived and misguided people.

We also at one time considered Trotsky a revolutionary. While still Social-Democrats, we lived down this viewpoint step by step. What forced us to introduce the first corrective to our illusions was that the "revolutionary" Trotsky was a writer for the counter-revolutionary Hearst press or the *Neue Freie Presse* and other organs of the bourgeoisie, a "revolutionary" to whose testimony all the enemies of the U.S.S.R. refer in their struggle against the Soviet Union.

We knew the Soviet Union only in the way it was caricatured by its enemies, but the victory of the First Five-Year Plan, the incomparable success of the Soviet Union in the teeth of all the malicious crowing of its enemies, the victory of socialism—all this dispersed the smokescreen of lies and slander, and convinced us of the correctness of Stalin's policy. The Trotskyites sought close connections with our Left opposition. We were sufficiently stupid to accept some of them into our ranks. It was only when we were rid of them—although not entirely—that the records of our meetings stopped making their way into the hands of the police.

A few weeks before the February battles, I received a letter from the Trotskyite Frey group containing a proposal for a "plan of uprising." The letter indicated the exact day and hour, the place where the workers should meet, the points at which they should join forces in order to set out for the center. At the time I considered the proposal as simply idiotic; now I consider it a foul provocation. This case, like many others, even before the February battles, opened our eyes to a certain extent to the nature of Trotskyism.

As a friend and comrade, I appeal to the revolutionary Socialists once again to make a sober and vigilant test of the

work of the Trotskyites in their ranks, and not to consider our warnings as being simply ridiculous, as Austriacus advises everybody.

There is nothing disgraceful in an error. But if people consider that to be stubborn in error is a sign of strength of character, then that is a misfortune. I recall a chat with a revolutionary Socialist after I joined the Communist Party. He said: "You have changed, but I have remained just the same." He considered the fact that he had remained "just the same" to be proof of his particular strength of character. I, however, consider it more correct to have the courage to change, to admit one's errors without reserve and to draw the conclusions from everything learned and experienced. I have never denied my Social-Democratic past, my Social-Democratic errors; but I and my friends have learned from the past, from these errors.

Ten years ago I did not understand Trotsky's role. Actualities have convinced me that Trotsky is in the camp of the counter-revolution. Ten years ago I had a very nebulous, unfounded idea of Stalin; step by step I became persuaded of the correct policy, the historical greatness of Stalin, the grandeur of his work. If I now see in Stalin the greatest of revolutionaries and leaders of our time, it is no mere phrase, but a clear, profound, well-grounded conviction. And I think that every honest revolutionary Socialist—not of those who are prepared to sing "praises of ignorance," but of those who make a serious study of the works of Stalin—who without bias acquaints himself with what Stalin has done, with all his bold personality, advancing unerringly and unswervingly, will become of the same conviction.

Ten years ago I had a very confused, hazy, superficial idea of the proletarian revolution, the dictatorship of the proletariat, the unexampled problems and unprecedented prospects of socialist construction. A new world has opened up before my eyes—and not only do I experience a feeling of immeasurable happiness from the fact that I belong to this world, the world of Stalin, of Dimitroff, of the Soviet Union, of the Communist International, but I am firmly convinced that like every Communist I am helping, however little, the growth and development of this world. In short, I have an incomparable feeling of happiness from the knowledge that I am a member of the Communist Party.

May I be forgiven these extremely personal words. But when one recalls the past, one wants to say a little about the present. I should like only one thing, that my friends in the ranks of the revolutionary Socialists will find the time to ponder over these words and come yet another step nearer to us.

The War Ideology of Italian Fascism

BY P. LANG

AT THE time of the outbreak of the world imperialist war (1914-1918), Italy was the ally of Germany and Austria, and together formed the Triple Alliance. According to the agreement, Italy was obliged, in the event of war against her allies, to maintain neutrality. But the Italian big bourgeoisie, in the name of "sacred egoism" insisted upon breaking the agreement. A similar attitude was adopted by the "radical" braggart, Mussolini, when in the ranks of the Socialist Party and after he had been expelled from it. Mussolini was an out-and-out defender of what was known as "interventionism," *i.e., participation in the war* on the side of the Entente.

The machinations of the financial oligarchy and their satellite, Mussolini, were crowned with success. Italy broke her alliance and joined in the war against her allies.

In an article entitled "Imperialism and Socialism in Italy," Lenin wrote:

"Italian imperialism was named 'imperialism of the paupers' (*l'imperialismo della porvera genta*) owing to the poverty of Italy and to the desperate misery of the masses of Italian immigrants. Arturo Labriola, the Italian chauvinist . . . wrote in his book on the Tripolitan War (1912):

"'. . . It is obvious that we are fighting not only against the Turks . . . but also against the intrigues, the intimidations, the money, and the armies of plutocratic Europe, which cannot tolerate that small nations should dare to make one gesture, to say one word that would compromise its ironclad hegemony.' The leader of the Italian nationalists, Corradini, declared at the same time: 'In the same way as socialism was a method of freeing the proletariat from the bourgeoisie, nationalism will for us Italians be a method of freeing ourselves from the French, the Germans, the English, the North and South Americans who, in relation to us, appear as a bourgeoisie.'

"Every country which has more colonies, capital, armies, than 'we' have, deprives 'us' of certain privileges, certain profits or super-profits." *

This Italian "imperialism of the paupers" was particularly aggressive, particularly predatory, particularly avaricious. Lenin wrote of the Italian bourgeoisie as of a "crude, repulsively reactionary and rapacious bourgeoisie whose mouth waters in the expectation of a share in the plunder to which it is admitted." **

But the "plunder" that went to Italian imperialism after the division following on the imperialist war absolutely failed to come up to her expectations. The promises made in the secret London agreement of 1915 were not kept. The "victory" was not a complete one. Italian imperialism felt "cheated, passed over." Despite the fact that it grew indisputably stronger, Italian imperialism was *one* of the causes, *one* of the sources of Italian fascism.

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* Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 332-333, International Publishers, N. Y.

** *Ibid.*, p. 331.

Italian imperialism, having been "passed over," had no desire to continue to remain an "imperialism of the paupers." It wanted to plunder new territories, to seize colonies, to acquire spheres of influence in various countries. In order to do so, serious, energetic, systematic preparations had to be begun for a new imperialist war, for the "correction of fate," for a new division of the world.

But to achieve this the ruling classes required a wide, "solid" mass base inside the country. Modern warfare cannot be prepared and the tremendous burden of modern armaments cannot be laid upon the "obstreperous" masses of the people when they do not want war and desert en masse from the front. Fascism had the task of creating the ideological-political premises for the preparation of imperialist war. This aim was impossible of achievement without suppressing the working class, without crushing its class organizations, without oppressing the masses of the people.

In July, 1919, "*Fascios*" were organized on a wide scale.

The "work" of fascism began and was conducted with all the methods of violence, ideological deception, demagogy and lies.

In all its propaganda and politics, Italian fascism glossed over its origin and the fact that its most important aims were to extend the mass base of the ruling capitalist class, to poison the people with chauvinism, to imbue them with the martial spirit and to facilitate the work of the bourgeoisie, in "more successfully" robbing workers, peasants, artisans and intellectuals, in feverishly building armaments at the expense of the masses and in conducting preparations for war with the greatest possible calculation on victory. Pietro Gorgolini, "first hour" fascist, writes:

"The basic idea of fascism is that our victorious war should be fruitful for Italy and productive as regards its moral, spiritual and material values. The direct aim of fascism is peace within the country." *

"Fruitful war" and "internal peace" —two mutually supplementing links in the same chain!

Italian fascism glossed over and in its propaganda still glosses over the class character of the bourgeois state and the imperialist nature of the past and future war.

"Italy is a nation, Italy is not a state," ** says Mussolini.

The fascists identify the bourgeois state with the whole nation, in order to restrain the proletariat from the class struggle, to imbue the masses with the idea that *their interests coincide* with the interests of the financial sharks and are *covered* by them.

This identification of the capitalist state with the whole nation, this declaration that the fascist state is the representative of the whole of the nation, this exaltation of it as the sponsor of *all*—rich and poor, exploiters and exploited —is one of the ideological foundations of the popularization and preparation of imperialist war.

In one of his speeches before the "march upon Rome," Mussolini said:

". . . the bourgeoisie must recognize the fact that within the nation there also exists the people, the toiling masses, and that we must not think of the greatness of the nation if these masses . . . are restless." ***

With "restless" masses one cannot think of a "fruitful" war, of the "greatness of the nation." It had to be drummed into the heads of the masses that sacrifices were necessary for the sake of "Italy," for the sake of the "greatness of the nation."

"Our myth," said Mussolini on Octo-

* P. Gorgolini; *Fascism and Italian Life*, p. 31, 1923.

** Mussolini, *I discorsie della revoluzione*, p. 39, 1923.

*** *Ibid.*, p. 17.

ber 24, 1922, in Naples, "is the nation, the greatness of the nation. And we subordinate everything to this myth, to this greatness which we wish to make a reality." *

Fascism strove to establish "totalitarianism," and achieved this after overcoming the Matteotti crisis. The class nature of the fascist state was masked, concealed behind a heavy veil of fascist demagogy. All the Pirellis, Contis, Volpis, and other financial and industrial magnates who, under fascism, became the undivided rulers of the land, acquired an invaluable weapon with which to deceive and suppress the masses in fascist totalitarianism.

Fascist totalitarianism aims at creating the illusion among the masses that the state has been transformed from an instrument of oppression in the hands of the ruling class into an organ of the masses of the people. The most concentrated, ruthless violence directed against the mass of people is made up, so to speak, to look like the state of the masses.

In the ideology of Italian fascism the state, nation and fascism form one whole—the fascist "trinity." The *Charter of Labor*, published in April, 1921, and the basis of the fascist *Labor Constitution* says:

". . . the Italian nation is an organism possessing a high life, higher aims and means of action than the individuals . . . of which it consists. . . .

"Labor in all its . . . forms is a social duty. . . . All production from the national viewpoint represents one whole, its aims are single, amounting to the well-being of the producer and the growth of national might."

This "basic document of the fascist revolution," as it is called in the resolution proposed by Mussolini and adopted by the Grand Fascist Council of April 21, 1937, is absolutely silent on the following important question:

If labor and production are not a private affair, but the affair of the nation, society, why then do the profits from it pass into the pockets of a few monopolist capitalists? Who are those producers with whose "well-being" the aims of production are concerned? Does the "well-being" of the exhausted, tormented worker of the Sicilian sulphur mines coincide with the "well-being" of Alberto Brothers and Pietro Pirelli, who control 39 limited companies with a capital of 7,818,000 lire? Does the "well-being" of the landlord Pavoncelli, who owns tens of thousands of hectares of land, coincide with the "well-being" of the starved peasant of Friula, who is weighed down by the burden of serf labor and lives the year round on maize bread? Do they in an equal measure fulfil their "social duty"?

The "basic document" cannot and does not give any reply to this question. Otherwise the fascists would have to recognize the existence of classes and justify the need for the proletarian class struggle, the need for democratic liberties to lighten the struggle of the masses for their achievement of real "well-being." But it is precisely this that the fascists do not wish to recognize.

Actually they declare it to be the "social duty" of the proletariat to exhaust themselves toiling for the "well-being" of Pirelli; the "social duty" of the proletariat to strain and exhaust themselves for the benefit of the "development of the national power" of the bourgeoisie and landlords, to make sacrifices so that the imperialism of the Italian bourgeoisie may cease to be a "poor imperialism."

To this end they banned the trade union class organizations and adopted the law of May 3, 1926, of which Article 2 states: only those trade unions are recognized by the state which aim at the "moral and national education of their members." To this end, strikes and the struggles of the workers were prohibited, all working class parties and organizations crushed, and furious terror intro-

* *Ibid.*, p. 58, 1923.

duced—all for the sake of preserving the rule of monopolist capital.

Italian fascism strives to falsify the ideological heritage of the proletariat—socialism, and to give it a meaning advantageous to the ruling class. The discontent of the financial oligarchy at the "poverty" of Italian imperialism was used by fascism for a thoroughly well-thought-out ideological swindle. Fascism which becomes furious at the sound of the words "class struggle" is not afraid to declare it necessary on the international arena and in its name to draw the Italian masses into preparations for war and war itself.

Fascism declares that Italy, that the "Italian nation" as a whole are "proletarians." "Italy," as Mussolini once expressed it, "is the most proletarian of all nations." The capitalists on the other hand, are others—are France, England, etc.

The "imperialism of the paupers" puts itself forward as the "proletariat" in order to deceive the working class, the genuine proletariat, to impel them to sacrifice their property and life's blood for the sake of millionaire Pirelli, "poor man" Pirelli, for his sake to go into battle and bend their backs without a murmur.

Before and during the Ethiopian war, the phraselet "proletarian Italy" played a most important role in whipping on the masses. Fascism preached imperialist "class war." "We," was the tale, are so poor, while the "others" are so rich! Italian fascism juggled with the words "poverty," the "proletarian" condition of the nation, while having in mind not the real, actual poverty, not the real poverty of the wide masses of people, but the "need" of the big sharks, parasites and profligates. It urged on the Sicilian—the worker of the sulphur mines—that his poverty originated in the fact that "we" have no colonies, *i.e.*, that Pirelli and Volpi are not sufficiently rich.

This propaganda made an impression upon fairly large masses and even upon the workers and fascism, with its barrage of propaganda, successfully overwhelmed the masses who, because of the "poverty" of Pirelli, sometimes forgot their own, genuinely hungry, poverty-stricken lives. And when all progressive mankind became indignant at Mussolini's brigand onslaught on Ethiopia, and the League of Nations was compelled to adopt sanctions against the aggressor, fascist propaganda emitted furious howls against the "plutocrats" who did not want to allow a "proletarian nation" to engage in a "little" aggression in Ethiopia.

Unfortunately, anti-fascist propaganda did not give a timely exposure to all the meanings of these moves of robber Italian fascism. The corresponding measures were not taken in time to persuade the Italian masses that sanctions were actually directed not against them, but against "poor" Volpi and Conti.

This lesson is all the more important in that Hitler has recently also begun to set "propertyless" Germany against the "rich," while Japanese imperialism justifies its campaign of butchery in China by its own "poverty." It is the imperative task of all anti-fascists to use the simplest language and concise examples to give a convincing explanation to the masses of the fact that imperialist war is not conducted to mitigate poverty, and that such a war does not improve the well-being of the peoples in general, or of the peoples of the aggressor countries, that the indignation against the acts of aggression of Japanese imperialism and German and Italian fascism is directed not against the Japanese, German or Italian peoples, that the measures adopted against the aggressor are intended for fascism, the imperialist brigands, and that peaceful peoples are prepared in case of need to aid the Japanese, German and Italian masses, so that if sanctions are adopted they shall not affect them.

But Italian fascism did not rest content with howls about its own poverty

and violent attacks upon the plutocrats. Its howls merged into the slogan: "Empire." The coming empire was the magic phrase with the aid of which fascism held the masses in check, aroused chauvinist passions and brought the people to a state of exhaustion. Before the conquest of Ethiopia the world "empire" was the narcotic given to the masses to color their want. Italy, they were told, was "poor," but strong, and fascism was leading it towards "splendid," "regal" times. When, it was added, the "empire" was conquered, when there would be an end to all need, an unprecedented boom would begin. But the "empire" could only be won by war. And so the "nation" would have to be militarized, war would have to be the chief meaning of life.

In every possible way war was and still is lauded by fascist propaganda. The market was flooded with books full of mystic assertions on the "sweetness" of self-sacrifice. In his book which appeared in 1931, the Marabini we have already mentioned employs the following words of Enrico Corradini, the ideologist of Italian nationalism:

"The Italian youth are thirsting for glory. . . . Young Italy has martial inclinations. . . . It is winged with martial mysticism. . . . This spirit must be strengthened . . . it must be made the second nature of Italy."

Marabini adds to these chauvinist ravings: "There is nothing more real than this military mysticism of contemporary Italy."

Martial symbols, poniards of honor, trees planted in memory of the fallen, the unknown soldier's grave, etc., play a big role in the public life of Italy. Fascist meetings are reminiscent of military parades.

The masses are systematically inoculated with the poison of chauvinism, the "soldier" spirit, the spirit of robber war, in order to prepare the people for slaughter to benefit the glory and riches of the Pirelli Annelis, Contis and Volpis.

Well, the "empire" exists already. Mussolini imagines that he has successfully finished his robber campaign. Now he can no longer use the word "proletarian Italy." The signposts have to be changed in the sphere of fascist ideology. The masses are now told that the "new era," the "golden age" have begun. Mussolini spoke at length about this in Palermo on August 20, 1937.

The "poor" Italian imperialists, the fascist-imperialist "proletarians" are beginning to speak the language of the plutocrats. Whereas formerly Mussolini used frequently to declare that fascism was not a commodity for export, now he already foresees an era of fascist Europe. Formerly fascism, so to speak, was the hard-earned "capital" of a "poor proletarian" nation, in whose possession it must remain. Now, when according to Mussolini "one of the happiest epochs" has arrived, fascism attempts to fulfil the "world mission" of joining with Hitler and the Japanese fascist militarists in "saving the world from Bolshevism," from democracy.

A few years ago, when Italy had to beg alms from the "plutocracy" of England and the U.S.A., Mussolini wrote a flaming article against Japan and emitted a howl of alarm against the "yellow peril" coming from Japan. Now, when plutocratic "imperial" Italy is quite openly preparing for a big conflict with England, Mussolini is entirely on the side of robber Japanese imperialism.

Today the central feature of the ideology of Italian fascism is quite openly the preparation of an imperialist-fascist world conflagration. In his conversation with Roy Howard, Comrade Stalin pointed out that the "Italo-Ethiopian war is an episode" as compared with the main sources of danger in the zone of Japan and Germany. The Germano-Italo-Japanese military bloc is strenuously preparing a world catastrophe. Mussolini boastfully declares that he will not tolerate Bolshevism or any similar regime, *i.e.*, democracy, in the Mediterranean Sea. Quite openly, shamelessly

and cynically he interfered in the affairs of Spain, is preparing a great bloody clash, after first sending his troops and armaments to enslave Republican Spain.

That is why he borrows from Hitler all the propaganda of "the chosen role" of Italy and Germany, as well as anti-Semitism which has grown considerably of late in Italy; that is why he attacks the Catholics and above all shouts himself hoarse in true Nuremberg style about "world Bolshevism."

Italian fascism does not conceal the fact that it wants to continue the bloody work begun in Ethiopia and Spain on an ever growing scale.

Anti-fascists must put an end to the underestimation of this fascist-imperialist propaganda. It is not a question of fascist boasting, bragging, swagger. The question at issue is the maintenance of world peace! All sincere friends of peace must intensify their struggle against the fascist barbarians who want to plunge their dishonored scimitar into the back of mankind. The masses of the people must counter the criminal plans of fascism, the plans to violate peace with their ceaseless, consistent struggle to save peace, to destroy fascism.

The Ideology and Methods of Propaganda of Hitler Fascism

BY F. KRAUS

NEVER before has a party so distorted and denied its nature as Hitler's party, defender of the interests of the exploiting class, operative in the particularly complicated conditions of decaying German capitalism, does, and is compelled to do.

What are the "theories," "principles" and "slogans" propagated by Hitler's party and what are the methods it employs?

The most important "principles" of Hitler fascism are: the race theory, "the community of the people," "blood and land," racial anti-Semitism, "German National-Socialism," and, finally, the "Fuehrer" principle.

These "theories" change according to the political situation and the requirements of the ruling class. But what is immutable in these "principles" is the defense of big capital, service to it, and preparations for a new war for the repartition of the globe.

According to the fascist race theory, the German people consist of a number of races (Nordic, Sudetic and Danubian). Only the Nordic race is the perfect, noble, cultured, creative race. The remaining races are not perfect and by virtue of the law of "natural selection" must subordinate themselves to the highest being—the "Northerner."

Who comprise the "noble" race kernel and who belong to the lowest strata of the "race"? The "noble ones" are the Krupps, Kirdoffs, Borzigs, Thyssens, Fliecks and all other industrial magnates and big landowners. The proletariat and working masses in general belong to the imperfect part. In speaking of the Eastern German race, the official National-Socialist "theoretician," Dr. Rudolph, makes the following statement:

"They are clumsy . . . narrow, incapable of great thinking, self-sacrifice. . . . A striving after light work . . . inspired the Eastern people to stream to the big industrial centers, where they compose a considerable part of the 'proletariat.'"*

Thus, the proletarians, the impoverished peasantry, streaming to the big towns in search of work in industry, belong, according to the fascist theory, to the "lower" race and should patiently and submissively serve the people belonging to the "noble race," predatory finance magnates, banking and industrial jackals, blood-suckers and slave-owners. Hitler expressed this in his notorious conversation with Otto Strasser, in the following words:

"The mass of workers want nothing more than bread and entertainment. Ideals are foreign to them. . . . We want to make a selection of the new strata of people who are not guided by the morale of compassion, but recognize that by virtue of the superiority of their race they have a right to rule over the broad masses. . . . They [the big employers.—F.K.] by virtue of their abilities made their way to the top. And on the basis of this selection disclosed once again, by

* Dr. Rudolph, *National-Socialism and the Race*, Issue 31, p. 28, National-Socialist Library.

the highest race, they have the right to lead."

The working people are imbued with the notion that there is nothing strange in the fact that the "highest race"—the ruling strata—hold them in subordination, in enslavement, on a starvation ration. The Hitler fascists brag about having "liquidated" the class struggle. Actually their race theory is a clear expression of the gross, merciless struggle of the exploiting classes for their own privileges, for domination over the broad masses of the people.

The aim of the race theory is also to isolate the working class from the middle strata, to prevent the working people uniting. By setting before the small traders and artisans, civil servants and office employees, subordinated to the big bourgeoisie, the "prospect" of rising to the rank of the "noble ones," the fascists want to prevent them from uniting with the proletariat in the struggle for their common vital interests.

At the same time the race theory fills the masses with the poison of chauvinism, infects them with the aggressive nationalist "spirit," persuades them that the whole of their existence should be centered upon winning world domination. According to the theory of the Hitler fascists, first place in the world belongs to the Nordic race. The sworn ideologist of Hitler fascism, Alfred Rosenberg, chatters about:

"The meaning of world history," which "emanated from the North, having spread throughout the world, borne by a blue-eyed, fair-haired race, which by a number of waves determined the face of the universe."*

"Honor and freedom drove individual people forward . . . to countries where there was space for the rulers."**

The foundation of life, the "center of the existence" of the Nordic people, is to burst into foreign countries, to enslave the native population, as an imperfect race, to appropriate "space" to themselves and live as "rulers," with no aim at all but out of a feeling of honor alone.

No other concept has been so much abused by the Hitler fascists as that of "honor." Their honor is the honor of a gang of thieves who know no other shame than that of the failure of their latest robbery.

When the Hitler fascists talk about "race," they have in mind the seizure of lands. When they talk about "honor," they have in mind the enslavement of other peoples. When they talk of "liberty" they mean robbery and pillage.

The Hitlerites transform the colossal profits made by the industrial and financial magnates out of the murder of millions into "ideals," for which they call upon people to die. They prepare the masses for "supreme" death, for slaughter; they are already now declaring that the masses will get nothing out of it; the "rulers" will get "space"; the people, "honor" and "ideals."

The race theory of the fascists leads to pretensions at world domination, to the new partition of "space." It has to justify the desire of the fascists to bring about a racial military bloc against France, Belgium, Czechoslovakia, the Balkan countries, the Soviet Union and, in the last analysis, against Poland and Italy as well.

Race propaganda is the chain in which the predatory monopolist capitalists fetter the masses, in order to subdue them and force them on to the field of battle to shed blood for the super-profits of the financial jackals and to suffer privation and misery.

In order to gloss over the fact of the existence of classes, Hitler fascism has invented the theory of the "community of the people."

Hitler strains every effort to paralyze, destroy and dull the class consciousness of the proletariat. Fascism denies the existence of classes and declares classes to be the diabolical invention of "malicious Jews" who, allegedly, demoralize

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* Alfred Rosenberg, *The Myth of the Twentieth Century*, p. 34.

** *Ibid.*, pp. 147-149.

the people and want to disrupt the "community of the people."

What precisely is this "community of the people"? It should be observed that it is by no means community of property, for the means of production still remain in the hands of the big capitalists.

The secret of the community of the people, reply the Hitlerites, is blood. Blood is the "religion of a people and its race." *

The Krupps and Kirdorfs belong, it is true, to a "higher race" than the "clumsy" proletarians, but still the workers and all toilers must wholly subordinate themselves to the interests of the exploiters, since the same blood flows in their veins as in those of the Krupps and Kirdorfs.

In the name of kindred blood, the proletarians are deprived of the organizations through which they could defend themselves against the plundering of their wages and the license of the capitalists; in the name of kindred blood the masses are deprived of all means of fighting, are subjected to unbridled and bloody terror, while their foremost fighters rot in concentration camps.

On the basis of the theory of the "community of the people," Hitler fascism draws other conclusions as well: "Like blood must run together." In other words: Austria, part of Czechoslovakia, Switzerland, Belgium, Poland, Denmark, Danzig, Klaipeda, and Alsace-Lorraine, etc., belong to the Third Empire and should be swallowed up by it. The masses must shed their blood in the interests of the blood-suckers for the alleged purpose of freeing the German blood that has been "disunited."

Rosenberg insolently declares:

"The National-Socialist movement recognizes and demands that a single blood and a single language . . . should also form a single state. And if in the process of the formation of such states, conflicts arise with the neighboring peoples, at any rate both parts will know that they are fighting for the interests of their peoples. . . ."*

These cynical remarks are nothing but the ideological preparation for a horrible bloodbath.

For the Hitler fascists the concept of "land" is an indissoluble part of the "blood" concept. If blood is the "religion of a people," "land is the symbol of the territorial stability of a people, the purity of its roots," so writes the fascist Darre, who, incidentally, originated in the Argentine.

In Germany, almost three million small peasant farms cover 3.7 per cent of the whole territory. On the other hand, 13,000 Prussian landowners own boundless stretches of land. There are landowners owning more extensive stretches of land than 194,000 peasant farms taken together. But the impoverished peasants have no right to protest, for that would be a "crime against the community of blood."

Why all the talk about "territorial stability," about the "purity of the roots," about the "land" as the "source of the nation," etc.? Exclusively to pacify the peasantry and prepare them for war.

The foreign policy of the "people's state" must, as Hitler writes in *Mein Kampf*, "ensure that the people are fed on their own territory." But if the "people" do not possess sufficient territory, then they must . . . appropriate the land of other peoples.

The task which German imperialism set itself during the World War has not been solved; it remains in force. Hence, the feverish armaments, preparations for a new world war to fulfil the "heritage" of the dead. K. Hirl, organizer of fascist labor conscription, writes without ceremony about this in his books, *The Foundations of the German Defense Policy*. Rosenberg writes and speaks of this in a more veiled form.

"A mighty people's struggle" (according to Rosenberg), *i.e.*, war—such is the

* Darre, *The Peasantry in Need*, p. 32.

* Rosenberg, *The Essence, Principles and Aims of the National-Socialist German Labor Party*," 1935, pp. 12-13.

dream of the fascists; that is what they are stuffing into the heads of the masses, for that it is that they are preparing the people. Hitler "himself" writes:

"If the National-Socialist movement really wants to impose a great historic mission upon our people, it must . . . find the courage to unite our people and their strength and take the road that will bring this people out of the present congestion of living space to new territory and land . . . [underlined in the original —F.K.]."

The fascists, of course, never breathe a word about it being easily possible to remove the poverty of the German peasantry by handing over the huge possessions of the landlords to the peasants. The "congestion" of space must be overcome by means of wars of aggression. The Northern race, on the basis of "community of blood," must hurl itself upon the peaceful peoples and seize their land. This is required by the "sacred mission" of the band of brigands now oppressing Germany and enjoying the support of the French fascists and most reactionary forces of other capitalist countries.

With their noisy talk about "blood and land," the fascists are creating ideological bases for a crusade against Europe.

Anti-Semitism is one of the means of diverting the masses from the struggle against the exploiters of the "highest race."

Since the Hitler fascists cannot and will not tell the people the truth about their oppressors and exploiters they have had to find a scapegoat, a bogey upon which to cast all the blame for the miserable conditions of the masses. They cannot blame the "Aryan" finance magnates who, on the contrary, are the "elect." And so the Hitler fascists find no difficulty in pointing out to the masses who is the "enemy" allegedly to blame for their poverty. It is Jewry.

For Hitler, all that is non-fascist is "Jewry." Jewry covers the class-conscious proletariat, the free-thinking and progressive people of all section of society, free science, genuine art, the opposition Catholics and Protestants. The fascists also dub as Jewry the French Revolution, democracy, the class struggle of the working people, Marxism and the victorious socialism of the Soviet Union.

Behind the screen of struggle against "Pan-Judah," the Hitler fascists declare their pretensions afresh for domination over the European Continent. They shout aloud about their hatred of "Judah," while actually having in mind the appropriation of Czechoslovakia, Austria, Belgium, part of Poland, the Baltic states, the humiliation and crushing of France, and an attack upon the Soviet Union.

Anti-Semitism forms a bridge to the highest product of Hitler demagogy—"German Socialism." In this sphere, Hitler fascism makes the most extravagant, puzzling leaps.

The program of the Hitler party clearly states that it "adheres to private ownership." The fascists do not allow anyone to lay hands on the "lordly" profits squeezed out of the proletariat and toiling masses.

What then, after this, is "National-Socialism"? The Hitler fascists provide *many answers* and actually *no answer* to this. Prussian soldiery is "socialism." The Cologne cathedral—"socialism" (Ley). A dinner of one course—"socialism" (Goebbels). Military trunk roads—"socialism." Increased standards of output at lower wages—"socialism." The community of the people on the basis of common "religion and blood" and "the race spirit"—all that is unblushingly referred to as socialism by the fascists.

There is an endless multitude of definitions of socialism in the way given by the National-Socialists. But they all have one thing in common, namely, everything of advantage to finance capital, the industrial magnates, the munitions kings and warmongers, everything that serves the interests of the blood-suckers, everything that can help to tame the masses and drive them to the slaughter—all that is to be found in the Hitler fascist interpretation of "German socialism."

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In an article entitled "The Revolution-

ary Struggle and Liberal Brokering," written in 1905, Lenin wrote:

"The rise of political parties is one of the most interesting and characteristic peculiarities of our interesting epoch....

"For the conscious proletarian these attempts of various classes to outline a program and to set going the organization of political struggle are of tremendous significance.

"However much there is fortuitous, arbitrary and sometimes unsubstantial in these attempts which in great part originate in separate 'actions' that are responsible to no one and draw nobody along with them, on the whole the basic interests and tendencies of the big social classes manifest themselves with irresistible force."

For the very outset of its existence, the Hitler party has been the expression of the basic interests and basic tendencies of the most predatory, aggressive, avaricious, chauvinistic wing of the German bourgeoisie.

But Hitler's party can only fulfil its "mission" so long as the masses fail to understand that it is the party of the ruling class. The Hitlerites, in their turn, understand that their party can successfully serve the interests of the big bourgeoisie only by assuming the role of defender of the interests of peace.

That is why the National-Socialist Party has paid and continues to pay special attention to its propaganda, and to ways and means of influencing the masses. For the fascists have to mobilize the masses *against* their own interests, *against* their own vital demands, *against* their own rights and liberties. They have had, and still have, to call the people to fight against the people. To this end they need a specially refined, false, hypocritical, scoundrelly type of agitation and propaganda.

The Hitler fascists borrow their agitational methods from Catholicism, from the advertisements of industrial concerns, and even from the freemasons against whom they fume so much.

One of the most important features of Hitler agitation is the way blame is thrown on opponents for all the misery, all the unhappiness of the people. At the end of the war the German bourgeoisie was thoroughly compromised in the eyes of very wide masses of the people, who understood that the ruling class had deliberately driven them into the World War for the sake of its profits. The Hitler fascists rushed to the defense of the capitalists and threw all the responsibility for the war upon the Jews who, it would seem, "surrounded" and wanted to destroy Germany. The Versailles Treaty, the fascists assert, was the work of "pan-Judah" and "Jewish Marxism." Always, everywhere, when the ruling classes have to be rehabilitated, when responsibility has to be removed from them for the misery of the masses, there are the Hitler fascists; they resort to any slander. All they are concerned with is to mislead the people and prevent them from seeing the real enemy and to divert them from the struggle against it.

In order to save reaction, the fascists declare themselves to be the enemies of reaction. They trample underfoot the most elementary liberties of the masses, and carry through their provocative, bellicose congresses under the label of "liberty congresses." Their calls to war are concealed behind the banner of the struggle "for peace." They do everything in their power to transform Germany into the arena for a disgraceful spectacle, into a single concentration camp, into one great prison, and howl with all their might about having returned Germany her honor. They persecute the mass of Catholic and Protestant believers, while putting themselves forward as the defenders, on the one hand, of religion, and, on the other, of "freethought." Filled with the vandal spirit of destruction, they furiously smashed the working class movement and now have the audacity to put forward their own foul "socialism" as the "heritage" of the socialist movement they have smashed.

* Lenin, *Complete Works*, Vol. VII, p. 339, Russian edition.

One of the characteristic features of the agitational methods of the Hitler party is its gross and unrestrained character, its complete absence of ceremony. The propaganda of the Hitler party is as aggressive as the section of the ruling class to which it has sold itself body and soul.

The "creators" of fascist propaganda —Mussolini, Hitler, Goebbels—have borrowed from Catholicism the pomp, the bombastic solemnity of their meetings and demonstrations and of their speeches and newspaper articles.

The meetings of the Hitler fascists are reminiscent of church worship, but at the same time they are martial parades. Some of the demonstrations begin with the ringing of church bells. In order to make the speaker distinct from the masses and raise him above the masses, they dress him up in a special uniform. Masters of ceremonies in special uniform stand in groups in military fashion on and around the platform. Hitler's measures are imbued with the spirit of Catholicism and Prussian soldiery, the theatre and barnstormer's pathos.

On the eve of the elections to the Reichstag on March 29, 1936, Goebbels issued the order:

"The streets fill with billions of people. . . . The sound of the bells of Colonge cathedral announce . . . the peaceful summons of the fuehrer. . . . In conclusion . . . there rings forth the sound of the old Dutch liturgy. The singing of the whole of the whole people mingles with the strains of this hymn. . . . Into the singing there . . . breaks the sound of the bells. . . ."

The theatricality and martial parade are intended to bewilder the mind of the masses, to divert their attention from the content and meaning of the "ideas" propagated, to stop up their ears and shut their eyes.

Like a Punch and Judy show, the orator now harrows their feelings, wails out a jeremiad about the "poverty" and "misfortune" of the people, in the attempt thus to bring tears to the eyes of his audience, then takes on the hectoring tone of a Prussian lieutenant in order to strike fear into their hearts. Hitler frequently speaks of his "successor" in order to give the impression that he himself is under the shadow of death, and to touch his "bodyguard."

The press of the Hitler fascists reveals the same sort of picture—not distinguished either for calmness of tone, for a businesslike approach. It roars and thunders, adopts a solemn tone, exorcises the reader, holds dialogues with him, commands, weeps, and threatens. The pretentious language of the fascist press is meant to deafen, overwhelm, blind the reader, now strike panic, fear into his heart, then to raise him to the "higher spheres" of pure belief.

In the propaganda of the Hitler fascists, mingled with sentimental mysticism and the "sanctity" of the missionary, is the jargon of the thieves' kitchen, the robbers' den, the scum of the big town. In every propaganda speech there can be found: emotion, mysticism, thieves' jargon, the cheap novel, a hectoring tone, solemnity, rudeness, strong language, threats and cursing.

National traditions, folk songs, music, dancing, national dress, all are widely used by the Hitler fascists to arouse chauvinistic feelings, for war provocation, to inspire misanthropy. The fascists represent themselves as the "saviors" of national culture, squeeze out of it the necessary capital so as to afford invaluable service to big capital.

The just indignation of the people at the bribery and embezzlement of public money, at the affairs of the ruling class and their bodyguards, are made wide use of in Hitler propaganda for the purpose of protecting and defending big capital. The energetic attacks of Hitler fascism against individual adventures (Sklaret, Bess, Barmat and others), its propagandist "battles" for "moral purity," its campaigns against "profiteering capital" and individual "alien people," are actually an energetic defense of the imperialist, predatory system as a whole.

The fascists strive to sidetrack the just

hatred of war existing among the people into hatred of a mythical, unreal "Judah." At the same time as Hitler sends his regiments into the Rhineland, as he threatens France, Austria, Czechoslovakia and other nations, he deafens the whole world with a hurricane of fire against "pan-Judah." When he stretches out his loathsome claws towards the wealth of the fertile Socialist Soviet Ukraine and with his accomplice, the super-bandit Trotsky, prepares plots against the mighty land of socialism, he beats his breast and declares that he is saving the world from "pan-Judah." The German masses must not see their real enemy—the warmongers, financial jackals and sharks. "Concretely" they are shown only one enemy: Judah, the embodiment of all evil.

Of late Hitler propaganda has been more and more openly putting forward "Judahized" Bolshevism as the central enemy. The greater the difficulties met with by Hitler fascism, the greater the discontent of the wide masses including those also who formerly supported the Hitler dictatorship, the more frankly and insolently does Hitler carry on his intervention in Spain; and the more the prestige of the U.S.S.R., the land of victorious socialism, grows among the masses, the more violent becomes the slander of the Hitler fascists against "Bolshevism." They call not only Czechoslovakia, but even the Vatican "allies of Bolshevism." Since the old trump-card "jewdom" is becoming somewhat inconvenient (if only because Hitler and Schacht have had all along to beg loans from the bankers, including Jewish bankers), it has temporarily been replaced by a new trump-card—"bolshevism," which Hitler fascism makes the synonym of the concept "jewdom."

Since the fascists have to deny at every step their views and intentions, they are also compelled to base all their agitation on lies and on the concealment and glossing over of their real aims.

"In the degree of falsehood," declares Hitler, "there always lies a certain factor of the possibility that it will be believed, since wide masses of the people . . . by reason of their naive simplicity more easily become the victims of big than of small lies. . . ."

The whole of fascist propaganda is one huge lie, one big piece of provocation, one bloody sermon of brute chauvinism, war, enslavement and ruin.

* * *

At the Seventh Congress of the Communist International, Comrade Dimitroff imperatively pointed out that an enemy like fascism—

". . . who so subtly and jesuitically exploits the national sentiments and prejudices of the masses and their anti-capitalist inclinations in the interests of big capital . . . *must be known to perfection from every angle.*"*

This task that has been set Communists and anti-fascists by the helmsman of the Communist International, the true comrade-in-arms of Comrade Stalin, leader of the world proletariat, is far yet from having become the property of the fighting masses. The task stands as hitherto: fascism must be known to perfection from every angle, every movement of Hitler propaganda, every one of its slogans, and methods must be attentively studied, in order to show the masses its real essence, to show it in its true colors, so that each separate point of its ideology can be set against its real meaning, so that the mask can be torn from fascism, and its predatory face revealed.

Comrade Dimitroff's advice has the most urgent, practical meaning:

"We must without any delay whatever react to its [fascism's—F.K.] various maneuvers, discover its hidden moves, be prepared to repel it in any arena and at any moment." **

The National-Socialist ideology leads

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* Georgi Dimitroff, *The United Front Against War and Fascism*, p. 98, Workers Library Publishers, New York.

** *Ibid.*

to a *cul de sac*, to catastrophe; its only "salvation" is war. This must always be impressed upon the masses convincingly, concretely on the basis of the conclusions drawn by the Hitler fascists themselves, on the basis of their own actions, such as the bombardment of Spanish towns, bestial terror, defense of the interest of the big bourgeoisie.

Comrade Dimitroff uttered a warning against any underestimation of questions of the struggle against fascist ideology:

"The putrefaction of capitalism penetrates to the innermost core of its ideology and culture, while the desperate situation of the broad masses of the people renders certain sections of them susceptible to infection from the ideological refuse of this putrefaction." *

The slightest underestimation of the "ideological infection of fascism" [Dimitroff] is criminal.

"We must not hesitate," said Comrade Dimitroff at the Seventh World Congress, "even *to learn* from the enemy if that will help us more quickly and more effectively to *wring his neck*." **

The revolutionary workers must also pay the greatest attention to questions of mass agitation, its effective arrangement, its constant improvement. The decay of capitalism, which inflicts on the masses infinite suffering, hunger, need, grief, arouses very wide masses to thought, to criticism, awakens them to political life. It is no simple business to approach these untrained and non-class-conscious masses. But "nowhere is it written" that these politically backward masses, aroused for the first time and as yet non-class-conscious, must of necessity be on the side of the enemies of the people. Therefore it is essential for the Communist and anti-fascist press, for mass agitation also, to become more lively. It must approach the masses more simply, more convincingly, *more concretely*.

The ideology and propaganda of Hitler fascism aim at deceiving the *whole* of the people in order to hand them over to the most predatory, aggressive, power-seeking elements of the ruling class. It is precisely for this reason that the formation of the anti-fascist People's Front is the most important task. If the ranks of the progressive, democratic forces devoted to the cause of peace are split, it will be easy for fascism to act the part of "unifier" of the people, the part of representative of all the interests of the masses, and in the name of the "community of the people" to bind the entire people hand and foot and sacrifice them to big capital. If we succeed in uniting in the People's Front the democratic, progressive forces, the forces of peace, it will be difficult for fascism to come forward with its demagogy and to represent itself as the "savior of the nation."

But if the masses are to be rallied opportunely into the People's Front it is not enough to reiterate the formula "People's Front" and at the same time to allow events to take their own course. The People's Front must be a genuine front of the working people with all their cares and interests, sufferings and joy. There is not a single sphere of social life, beginning with questions like rents, prices, transport, schools, sports, clothes, public holidays, folk songs, and ending with questions of "high politics"—foreign policy, the army, peace—in a word all the questions of our varied many-sided lives, there is not a single sphere outside the competence of the People's Front, in which it should not interfere. Every section of the people, every progressive person must come to the conviction, on the basis of his own experience, that the People's Front is his own affair, that it is the defender of his interests.

The press of the People's Front must be a people's press. It must speak the language of the people, share the cares of the people, their joys, satisfy their cultural needs. That means that the press must reflect the will of the people, arouse their energy, fire their fighting spirit.

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* *Ibid.*, p. 75.
** *Ibid.*, p. 98.

But if the People's Front is to become the genuine champion of the interests of the working people, the workers themselves must unite in a broad, mighty united front. The proletarian united front is the most powerful driving force in the unification of the people against their fascist oppressors, against the fascist warmongers. The proletarian united front is not only the strongest class of modern history, able to advance to the forefront of political events, not only can it arouse the proletariat to strength and energy, as shown in the example of France and Spain, it can also arouse all sections of the working people, toiling peasantry, small traders, artisans, intellectuals, compel them to appreciate their own position and rally them to the defense of their own interests.

It is clear that such tremendous tasks cannot be tackled with the old methods of work. The Communist Party as the *class party* of the proletariat, as the *vanguard* of the working class, represents at each given moment the basic interests of the whole of the working people. Its propaganda, its press, its meetings, all its work among the masses must be made to correspond to this. How often do we still find articles in the Communist press that are difficult to read? How often do we still find long arguments that would find a response among wide circles, were they only more simply written? Precisely because the united front is the most important backbone of the People's Front, precisely because the Communist Party is the driving force of the united front, Communist propaganda must be developed so as to arouse the interest of the people.

Propaganda must be of such a character as to result in broad masses of the people, who do not belong either to the Communist or Socialist Parties, also taking an active part in the establishment, consolidation and extension of the proletarian united front.

In propaganda designed for the broad masses it is not enough to talk about fascism, finance capital and the warmongers, in an abstract, general form. The fascists must be shown to the people in their "natural state," in their naked, unvarnished form, in their true colors, as brigands. *Who* finances the fascist, butcher organizations, *with whom* are they connected, *who* profits by their demagogy—all this must be shown clearly and concisely, on the basis of facts. Fascism as a universal disgrace, as the universal enemy of all culture, must be unmasked, branded, pilloried, on the basis of everyday, clear, living examples, of unmasking every day the bloody, anti-people's reality of fascism.

The history of every people, their traditions, must not be the arena of the bandit activity of the fascists. The forgotten sources of the creative work of the masses, their heroes and legendary knights, their struggle, all belong not to the fascists, but to the people. This must be shown and *proved* systematically, for the mere laying down of the law, merely to declare that this is how things should be, convince nobody.

It must be the everyday task of the united People's Front to conduct a systematic struggle against the demoralizing, evil "theories" of fascism, which set the masses and the peoples at loggerheads. And in this sphere we must put an end to self-satisfaction, complaisance and to the idea that the fascists cannot infect the masses. Every day the masses must be won over anew, convinced. The struggle against fascist ideology is not a matter of a spontaneous "campaign" after finishing which we can calmly rest on our laurels. This struggle must be waged day in and day out with tremendous persistency.

The working class movement, world culture, the world in general have a bulwark of tremendous importance in the shape of the U.S.S.R. The Soviet Union is the property of the whole world of culture. The U.S.S.R. is the supreme acquisition of all working people fighting for peace and liberty. In everyday propaganda we must show the living reality of the Soviet Union and on this basis daily arouse the energy of the interna-

tional working class, the energy of all the mass of people, all friends of peace.

One of the most important tasks of Communist and anti-fascist propaganda is persistently to picture the victories, life, struggle of the Soviet Union, to throw light on its problems, to explain to the masses of the capitalist countries the concepts, new in principle, arising in the land of socialism and reflecting the public, social, cultural and political phenomena there. This task has still to be solved. The Communist press in the capitalist countries frequently rests content in its reports with giving a superficial description of facts, the wide significance of which does not always reach to the full the minds of the masses.

Communists have no desire to throw dust in the eyes of the masses. But they must learn to offer the people ideals and truths answering their vital interests in a more attractive and lively form, on a high political and cultural level, without resorting to high-sounding words or giving way to boastfulness.

The advice of Comrade Stalin also applies to the sphere of mass agitation. He said that "good resolutions" alone are not enough. A correct political program not presented to the masses with the aid of the most effective means remains moribund. The purpose of a good policy is not to enable us to be "worthy" in the face of history, but to enable us to make history. But that requires the participation of wide masses of the people.

In the interests of the bitterest enemies of the people, Hitler fascism gathers wide masses together, puts them into "blinkers," catches them in its net and leads them to catastrophe. In the interests of the people the Communists must incessantly, systematically and persistently impress their truths that correspond to the truths of the whole of advanced mankind, upon the people. The Hitler fascists agitate daily among the masses, in order to bring them bound hand and foot into the camp of the enemies of the people. The Communists must agitate daily and hourly with new and living methods among the people, in order to free them from the oppression, slavery, and exploitation of the fascist barbarians.

The Anti-Fascist Movement on the Upsurge

(Letter from Warsaw)

BY S. BOGDANSKAYA

DURING December a new powerful wave of the anti-fascist movement swept throughout the whole of Poland. Futile were the bloody "pacification" of the villages in connection with the August peasant strike, the countless arrests, the endless trials and severe sentences on those who took part in the August strike and on other fighters in the anti-fascist movement. Futile were the efforts made by the fascists to divert the attention of the working people away from the struggle for their rights and vital interests by spreading violent anti-Semitic slander. With every day that passes the dissatisfaction of the workers, peasants and broad sections of the working intellectuals in Poland grows against the fascist regime. It has deprived them of all political rights and of all influence upon the life of the country, has doomed them to poverty, unemployment, starvation and ignorance, and is more and more subordinating the foreign policy of Poland to Hitler Germany with its aggressive military plans which are a menace to the very independence of Poland.

This dissatisfaction found expression in the events which took place in Poland on December 12, 16 and 19. During these days, in connection with the fifteenth anniversary of the murder by an N.D.K. (Populist Democrat) fascist of the President of the Polish Republic, the Democrat, Narutovich, working class organizations arranged meetings and demonstrations throughout Poland under the slogan of the struggle against fascism, for liberty, democracy, for improved material conditions for the working people, for a change in the foreign policy of Poland. Working intellectuals joined forces with the workers, and, in many parts, the peasantry as well. Thus, the movement developed into a tremendous spontaneous demonstration of the people's anti-fascist front.

On December 12, 35 meetings took place in Warsaw, each attended by several hundred people, and on December 19, there was a tremendous meeting and demonstration of 15,000 workers and intellectuals from the Democratic club. The demonstrators carried placards bearing the slogans: "Down with fascism, long live democracy," "We demand the dissolution of the Seim and Senate, and new democratic elections." There were shouts of "Down with the Colonel Kotz's camp of national unity," "Long live the People's Front." Some of the returning demonstrators were attacked by the police, and one worker was mortally wounded.

Huge meetings were held on December 12 and 19 in the Dombrow coalfields; in Modrzejow-Niwka (1,500 workers), in Zawiercie (2,000 workers), in Zombkowice (1,000) in Myszkow (1,000 workers) in Mikowice (1,500 workers), in Czeladz (2,000 workers), in Wojkowice-Komorne (about 2,000 workers). Meetings were also held in Sosnowice (over 1,500 workers), in Dombrowa (about 5,000 workers), Slawkow, in Wysoka (1,000 workers), in Lazy

(1,000 workers), Niemce (1,500 workers), in Ujscie (1,000 peasants). At all these meetings extraordinary enthusiasm reigned, and the speeches made were met with stormy applause. Resolutions were passed everywhere against fascism, demanding the dissolution of the Seim and Senate and the appointment of new elections to the legislative bodies at the earliest date on the basis of universal, direct, equal, secret suffrage, with proportional representation.

In the heart of the oil industry, a huge demonstration was held on December 12 in the town of Boryslaw. The great hall of the "Palas" theatre was so full that part of the public had to stand around in the corridors. The speakers sharply criticized the pro-Hitler "orientation" of the internal policy of Polish fascism. Slogans against fascism, against war, for new democratic elections to the legislative institutions called forth a storm of applause.

A huge demonstration took place in Cracow, on December 19. At the meeting Polish and Jewish workers took part side by side with members of the "Stronictwo Ludowe" and of the Democratic club. Forty-three anti-fascist meetings were held in Cracow region.

In Lemberg, Tarnow and Rzeszow numerous meetings and demonstrations took place at which, in addition to representatives of working class organizations, representatives of the "Stronictwo Ludowe" and of the "Vici," the peasant youth organization, also spoke.

In Katowice a huge meeting took place in which workers and working intellectuals took part. It was with difficulty that the largest hall in the town could hold all those who wanted to be present at the meeting. The speakers pointed out that the fascist government by its national economic policy had brought the working masses to a position of dire want, while by its foreign policy it was menacing the independence of Poland. A demand was put forward for the dissolution of the Seim and Senate, and the urgent appointment of new, just, and honest elections. The resolution against fascism, for a democratic Poland of the people, was adopted unanimously.

Anti-fascist meetings took place on December 19 in a number of places in Upper Silesia. In Siemianowice, the largest hall was filled to overflowing with miners, blast-furnace workers, with young people, women, and office workers, etc. The speakers pointed to the fact that the peasantry, the peasant youth, the working intellectuals and teachers, the whole world of labor, were supporting the struggle of the workers for democracy. The speeches were greeted with enthusiasm. A resolution was adopted unanimously.

In Chenstohowa, on December 16, a five-minute strike in memory of Narutovich and in protest against the fascist regime was held in 41 factories in answer to the call of the factory sirens.

A wave of meetings swept over the whole of Poland and also included places where, until recently, no mass anti-fascist activities had taken place.

In Pyasechno, 100 took part in a meeting. In Mlawa, the largest hall was not big enough to hold those who turned up at the meeting. In Solec-Kujawski, the meeting turned into a spontaneous demonstration against the bloc of foreign and Polish fascism. Five hundred persons, including delegates from the peasantry of the whole district, took part in a meeting held at Lomza. Until quite recently, the N.D.K. (Populist Democrats) enjoyed influence there. The meeting made a colossal impression in the town. In Lukow, a representative of the peasant "Stronictwo Ludowe" spoke at the meeting in addition to representatives of working class organizations. In Konin a meeting and demonstration took place. In Zykhlin, a five-minute strike took place at 11 o'clock in the morning.

The great Rom and Zelinsky factory was brought to a standstill. There were 500 present at the meeting. In Crodno, the theater was too small to hold all those who turned up for the meeting. In

ugustuw, there took place a five-minute rike, something unheard of here. Three rge government sawmills and all pri- ate enterprises were brought to a stand- ill. Three hundred were present at a eeting.

Demonstrations in the shape of five- inute strikes also took place in Okusz, luize, Olbrom, Micehow, Ogrodzienjce. ass meetings were held in Lodz and the odz region, in Poznansk and in Po- orye.

Workers from far-distant localities rned up at a meeting in Kowel. In zowsko, well-known in connection with e August peasant strike, over 500 ople demonstrated their readiness to ght against fascism, for democracy. In ryj, the meeting developed into a huge monstration of workers and peasants gainst fascism. The hall could hardly old 3,000 people; the remainder had to turned away. In Vilna, 400 took part a meeting. A collision took place be- ween anti-fascists and popular demo- ats distributing anti-Semitic leaflets.

On December 16 the factory sirens lled the proletariat and working people the industrial centers throughout oland to an anti-fascist demonstration the shape of a five-minute strike. ork was stopped in response to the rens not only by the workers of fac- ries and industrial plants, but also non- ctory workers. Passers-by demon- rated by standing bare-headed for five nutes.

Side by side with this movement the rike struggle of workers, office em- oyees and working intellectuals is owing and extending. The progressive crease of unemployment (on December there were 393,700 registered unem- oyed); the increase in one month, *i.e.*, om November 15, was 110,926, of nom, 47,608 fall to the period of No- mber 15 to December 1 and 63,318 to e period from December 1 to December , is worsening the already serious posi- n of manual and office workers. rikes are being conducted for collec- e agreements, winter relief, holidays, and against the dismissal of workers, etc. As a general rule, the strikes are of the "stay-in" character.

A whole number of acute conflicts took place during the latter part of December.

On December 20 and 21, there was a 24-hour protest strike by the Lodz street-carmen, their chief demands being: collective agreements, 100 rubles for winter relief, complete stoppage of the street-cars on the first day of Easter and Christmas. The strike was begun by the men in the repair-shops, who occupied their factories. For 24 hours, all the streetcars in Lodz were at a standstill.

Negotiations went on for several weeks between the workers and management of the Lodz buses on the subject of collective agreements, and led to a one-day protest strike of chauffeurs and conductors. The failure to achieve results from these negotiations forced the workers to declare a general bus workers' strike on December 21. Under the threat of a strike the bus owners made a number of concessions, and for the first time a collective agreement was signed. As a result the strike was called off.

A strike of municipal workers is coming to a head in Lwow. Demands for a 15 per cent increase in wages and holiday pay are being put forward .

On December 23, a two-hour protest strike was called by the municipal workers of Lodz in connection with the non-fulfilment of the decisions of the town council for the payment of holiday money; it was decided, in the event of this situation continuing, to begin a "stay-in" strike. On the morning of December 23, holiday money was paid, and the strike was called off.

On December 22, a 20-minute protest strike took place among the employees of the Spirit Monopoly in Cracow, who demanded winter relief and payment in advance. The fascist trade union (Z.Z.Z.) refused to support the workers in their fight for winter relief. There is a strong feeling of indignation. The workers are threatening to strike. In Gdyna, the wharf workers are preparing to strike

in connection with the dismissal of 20 workers—officials of the local transport workers' union.

Wider and wider sections of workers, peasants and working intellectuals are taking the road of struggle against fascism, for freedom, democracy, and for improving their living conditions. In No. 63 of the chief organ of the "Stronictwo Ludowe," dated December 12, 1937, it states:

"The peasants have no desire to barter anything from anybody, to ask for alms, or to beg, for they want to win everything for themselves and, what is more, literally everything that rightly belongs to them."

Despite all difficulties and repression, the anti-fascist People's Front of workers, peasants and working intellectuals is growing, extending and strengthening in Poland.

The Capture of Teruel and Its Consequences*

BY ANDRE MARTY

AFTER six days of fighting conducted with great determination and extraordinary military skill, Teruel has been taken in a great battle by the republican army.

Teruel was a first-class fortress in the hands of the fascists that seriously menaced the republican front.

A glance at the map reveals that an offensive from Teruel towards Sagunto, supported by an operative assault in the region of Castellon, could seriously hamper the republican army.

Teruel is surrounded by deep gorges, elevated peaks, villages converted into fortresses, innumerable fortifications, underground refuges. With the taking of Teruel the whole of this system of strongly fortified positions has passed into the hands of the republicans.

Thus, the Teruel victory is of strategic importance for the republican army. It is still more. All the military experts who watched the development of the attack of the republican troops declared that the plan prepared down to the last detail by the General Staff, under the direction of General Rojo, was carried out with precision by General Hernandez Sarabia, commander-in-chief of the Levante army.

The Teruel victory was the result of meticulous preparations carried on in absolute secrecy. The order to attack having been given, the operation was carried out with extreme precision; all the objects intended were occupied at the precise moment stipulated.

And as the republican troops advanced and made a concentrated assault along the whole of the Teruel sector, they simultaneously beat back, without ceding an inch of soil, the counter-attacks of the powerful fascist forces abundantly supplied with tanks, artillery and airplanes.

Thus, a new Spanish army rose up before the eyes of the astonished world. For the Teruel victory is not the work of one day; it is the result of immense labor; it was prepared for by the transformation of the people's militia, the heroic, enthusiastic militia, but a militia with little military training, into a highly skilled regular army. The Teruel victory was prepared for by the numerous schools set up by the General Staff for the training of cadres from among the mass of the people. It was prepared for, lastly, by the enthusiasm of the whole of the people who had no wish to submit to the disgrace of fascist barbarism. For the Teruel victory is a victory for the whole of republican Spain.

The army corps, divisions, tank units, and air squadrons that took part in the battle, were all manned by Spaniards, under the command of Spaniards, in the presence of Indalecio Prieto, Minister of National Defense, as well as of Juan Negrin, President of the Council of Ministers.

An old officer who was an eye-witness of the battle declared a few days ago: "I went through four and a half years of war on the French front and never once did I see anything like it. The advance of the infantry of the Lister di

* Radio speech delivered in Madrid.

vision was positively marvelous, a veritable miltary revelation."

The victory of Teruel really is a revelation. It must not be forgotten that the new republican army has senior officers consisting in the main of officers who at the time of the fascist rebellion remained faithful to the republic; but it also includes a tremendous number of commissioned and non-commissioned officers from among the people, who but yesterday were workers and peasants. The merit for the Teruel victory by the way is not limited to the army.

The trade union delegation of metalworkers of the Paris region—a powerful union with 250,000 members—which has just visited Madrid, told me a few days ago that splendid work is being done in the metallurgical plants of the capital equipped at the cost of tremendous difficulty.

The Teruel victory is one of a people that has broken the age-old chains of oppression and obscurantism, that is educating itself in and by the struggle; it is a victory of soldiers of the people who, in intervals between fighting, study military technique and at the same time learn to read and write.

The Teruel victory is one of the new Spain, of the Spain that was born and is growing in torrents of blood shed by the fascists.

But the workers of France, of all countries must draw serious lessons for themselves from the Teruel victory.

A characteristic feature of Teruel is the extraordinary discipline of all the units of the army in operation. Our friend Indalecio Prieto, Minister of National Defense, declared to the Havas Agency that he could hardly stand out in the open air for two minutes at his point of observation, so terrible was the cold. Several soldiers, in fact, died of it. In spite of this, all the army units attacked at the hour and at the points stipulated.

They went into attack not under the influence of alcohol or ether, but with cool heads, fully conscious of the anti-fascist cause for which they were fighting.

How was such discipline achieved? It is worth while recalling how Saint-Just achieved it in the Rhine army during the Great French Revolution: "The essential force of the army," said he, "is the republican spirit." And we know how he roused their republican spirit by bringing a number of reactionary generals before the revolutionary tribunal.

The army that attacked Teruel was animated by a high morale because it was forged and built up in struggle, in the spirit of anti-fascist unity. The masses composing it, rank and file and officers, doctors and commissars, are republicans and trade unionists, Communists, Socialists, Anarchists, Catalans and Spaniards, each with his own opinions. All joined forces to save their country from fascist barbarism, from fascist intervention.

All joined forces to defend their new type of democratic republic which expropriated without compensation the estates of the big landowners who betrayed their fatherland, and distributed these lands to the agricultural laborers and poor peasants; to defend a democratic republic in which the huge majority of the factory owners and directors have foully deserted their country, thereby disorganizing production, and where it has fallen to the lot of the workers supported by the state to develop an immense war industry; to defend a democratic republic in which liberty of conscience remains intact, while the economic power of the Church which served as a base for the blood-thirsty fascists is smashed; to defend a democratic republic in which a tremendous amount of educational work is being done by the government to eliminate illiteracy, to develop schools of all kinds, to revive and increasingly to develop the grand and magnificent culture of Spain; to defend a democratic republic in which the People's Front government really expresses the will of the people who elected it; to defend a democratic republic in which the government is bound up with the people, gives heed

to their hopes, and is steadily fulfilling the People's Front program; to defend a really new type of democratic republic which is victoriously defending millions of workers, peasants, scientists, men and women of all ages and walks of life.

The victory of Teruel is a victory for anti-fascist discipline based on the anti-fascist unity of the people of Spain, of all its political, trade union and public organizations. It is a tremendous example for the workers and toiling people of all countries.

The democratic republic was in peril during the black days of August to October, 1937, not only because of the factual blockade resulting from the so-called non-intervention policy; the people's militia met with defeat primarily because they were torn by internal disagreements on political and trade union questions.

Today, with the development and consolidation of unity, victory is beginning to take clear shape.

Members of the conciliation committee of the Communist and Socialist Parties of Spain, representatives of the United Socialist Party of Catalonia visited the central front and were met everywhere with tremendous enthusiasm.

The U.G.T. and C.N.T. trade union organizations are coming closer together. The Communist Party, loyally bound up with the Socialist Party, is to an ever-growing degree improving its cordial relations with the members of the C.N.T.

The Republicans have become convinced that the workers and peasants are the best fighters who, in thousands, give their blood in defense of Spanish democracy, and that it is only because anti-fascist unity is being consolidated that the Spanish people are advancing to victory.

The victory of the republic is secure because the republic possesses a people's army which, by untiring and stubborn work, is increasingly mastering military technique with every day that passes, and at the same time increasing its anti-fascist consciousness and unity. Officers, commissars and rank and filers rival each other, each in his own sphere, in order to effect this immense transformation. The democratic republic will win, because the people are developing and growing, strengthening their unity every day.

The Teruel victory smashed to atoms the attempts of those who tried to save Franco by concluding an impossible truce between the assassins and their victims.

The only way out is victory, the re-establishment throughout the whole of Spain of the power of the only legitimate government, elected by the people in free elections.

There is not the slightest doubt that the Teruel victory, on the eve of the New Year, filled millions of freedom-loving workers and peasants with joy, who in France and throughout the world are ardently following the great events in Spain.

There is not the slightest doubt that the taking of Teruel will bring forth its fruits; the solidarity movement will become still more active, and tomorrow still more food, medical supplies, clothing and boots will come to republican Spain There is not the slightest doubt that the growing number of those who understand that the fate of other peoples as well, of liberty and peace, and primarily of the liberty and peace of France is being decided in Spain will remember the great Spanish people, their heroic soldiers in these days of festivity; they will think of the great invincible people of Madrid tirelessly preparing their victory; they will exert every effort to demonstrate their solidarity not only in words, but in deeds.

The Spanish people have heard many declarations of affection. They now await concrete and practical action. They anticipate that in France and throughout the world the proletariat and working people, all the peoples, will understand that unity is as indispensable to them as to the people of Spain.

The people of Spain anticipate the establishment of close unity in each country and throughout the world between all the working class and trade

union organizations, between proletarian and democratic organizations, to render them the aid they deserve, so as to restore to the government of the republic its international rights that have been illegally violated. We shall realize this by international united action between the International Federation of Trade Unions, the Labor and Socialist International, and the Communist International, as the Socialist and Communist Parties of Spain are demanding in all sincerity. This unity, expressed in the strikes of dock-workers, railwaymen, sailors and workers generally, will seize Hitler by the throat and facilitate victory for the Spanish people.

The Spanish people anticipate that the numerous declarations they receive daily will be followed by action. This is what they await after Teruel, and this is how they will judge their friends.

To those who are shedding their blood for the liberation of their country, to those who are shedding their blood so that the peoples of France, Belgium, England, America and other countries will never know the horrors of war imposed by fascism, we owe real, effective solidarity. It is for us that they are suffering and dying. The great-hearted people of France, the people of Paris, of which the workers are always in the vanguard of great causes, will undoubtedly draw the conclusion from the Teruel victory, will draw the lesson that what is wanted is a thousand times more energy, action, unity, and active solidarity.

Long live the great and heroic people of Spain!

Long live the powerful people's army and its great and talented Republican General Staff!

Long live the victorious People's Front government!

Long live active and effective solidarity with democratic Spain through the union of all workers, all democrats, all working class, democratic and progressive organizations!

The Tasks of the Chinese Revolution After the Formation of the United Front Between the Kuomintang and the Communist Party*

BY MAO TSE-TUNG

THE UNITED FRONT BETWEEN THE TWO PARTIES

IT WAS away back in the year 1932 that the Communist Party of China proposed to the Kuomintang troops to conclude peace with the Red Army for joint struggle against the Japanese aggressor. After the events of September 18, 1931, the main task of the Chinese revolution became the fight against Japanese imperialism, against aggression in China.

In August, 1935, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China and the Central Executive Committee of the Chinese Soviet Republic appealed to the whole of the Chinese people, to all parties and political groups for the creation of a united all-Chinese anti-Japanese army and an all-Chinese Government of National Defense for joint struggle against Japanese imperialism.

In December of the same year, the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party published a resolution on the formation of a united anti-Japanese national front.

In May, 1936, the Central Executive Committee of the Chinese Soviet Republic and the Revolutionary Military Council of the Chinese Red Army again appealed to the Nanking government in a manifesto calling for the cessation of internal war so as to be able to conduct a joint struggle against the Japanese aggressors. In August of the same year, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China proposed to the Central Executive Committee of the Kuomintang to call a halt to the internal war and form a united front of the two parties for the struggle against Japanese imperialism. In September, the Communist Party published a resolution on the creation of a united democratic republic in China. Not only did the Communist Party publish these manifestoes, letters and resolutions, but it also sent its representatives to engage in negotiations with the Kuomintang. Only at the end of 1936, during the Sian events, did the representatives of the Communist Party and the Kuomintang come to the extremely important political agreement which made it incumbent upon both parties and both armies to cease internal war and to bring about a peaceful solution of the Sian question. This great political event in the history of China was one of the prerequisites for the formation of the united front between the two parties.

On February 10, 1937, the eve of the Third Plenum of the Central Executive Committee of the Kuomintang, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China sent a telegram to the plenum containing concrete proposals for the creation of a united front. The following

* From *Emancipation*, organ of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, No. 18, Sept. 29, 1937.

five demands were put forward in the telegram: guarantee of the cessation of internal war, democratic rights for the people, the convening of a National Assembly, the most rapid preparation of armed resistance to the enemy, and the improvement of the material conditions of the masses of the people.

The Communist Party on its part promised to put an end to the situation where the two respective governments stood opposed to one another; to rename the Soviet regions and the Red Army; to introduce a democratic regime on the territory of the Soviet regions, and to cease the confiscation of lands. This was an important political measure, for had it not taken place, the creation of a united front between the two parties would have been retarded, and would have had a very unfavorable effect upon the preparation of armed resistance to the enemy.

Other steps followed this one: the Communist Party introduced a number of specific proposals regarding the joint elaboration of a political program of the two parties, regarding freedom of the mass movement, the release of political prisoners and the renaming of the Red Army and the Soviet regions. Although the questions enumerated above have not yet been solved, the order changing the name of the Red Army to the People's Revolutionary Army was given approximately one month after the loss of Peiping and Tientsin. The declaration of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China dated July 4, regarding collaboration between the two parties, was handed to the Kuomintang on July 15. Chiang Kai-shek's statement recognizing the Communist Party was published, true after some delay, in the *Central News* of September 22 and 23, at a time when the position at the front was very acute. The establishment of a united front between the two parties was announced by the Communist Party in its declaration, and by Chiang Kai-shek in his interview, thus creating the necessary basis for the great cause of saving the fatherland.

This declaration was not only a basis for collaboration between the two parties, but will serve as the main line for rallying the whole of the Chinese people. Chiang Kai-shek has recognized the Communist Party as legal throughout the whole of the country, and has pointed to the need of rallying all forces to save the country. The united front between the two parties has already been formed, thus opening up a new era in the history of the Chinese revolution. The great political significance of this act must be understood by all citizens, since this measure will have a serious effect upon the development of the whole of the Chinese revolution and will be a decisive point in the organization of the struggle for the ejection of the Japanese aggressors.

THE RESULTS OF THE FORMATION OF THE UNITED FRONT BETWEEN THE TWO PARTIES

Ever since 1925 the mutual relations between the Kuomintang and the Communist Party have played a decisive role in the history of the Chinese revolution. The great Chinese revolution of 1925-27 was under the leadership of these two parties which collaborated on the basis of a definite program. This collaboration made it possible in the course of two or three years to achieve unparalleled successes in the struggle for national liberation, democracy and the well-being of the people.

For forty years Sun Yat-sen had been fighting for this cause and died without achieving its culmination. The successes achieved by the establishment of a revolutionary base in the province of Kwangtung, as well as by the Northern campaign, were the result of the united front of the two parties. But since certain people were unwilling to continue the revolution and split the united front between the two parties at the time when the revolution was approaching its culmination, the Chinese revolution was defeated. Power passed into the hands of one class and one party; a deep abyss formed not only between the Kuomintang

and the Communist Party, but also between the government and the people; and the external enemy used this state of affairs to invade China. Now the two parties have again set up a united front.

This signifies a new stage in the development of the Chinese revolution, despite the fact that some people still fail to understand the historic tasks and great prospects facing the united front, and consider this united front to be a temporary measure. Will China succeed in extracting itself from its difficult position? The united front will play a decisive role in this.

New factors are already present: first, the fact that the policy of the united front proposed by the Chinese Communist Party has met with the support of the whole of the people; second, the peaceful solution of the Sian events and the cessation of war between the two armies have rallied together different parties, groupings, organizations and army units. Although this consolidation is still inadequate for the organization of armed resistance, the relations between the central government and the provinces have already improved a great deal. Third, the fact that armed resistance has already been organized. It does not, however, satisfy us, for it only covers the organized troops.

We pointed out long ago that in order to crush Japanese imperialism, the whole country, the whole of the people must take part in the struggle. It would be impossible to mobilize all the armed forces if internal peace and the united front did not exist between the two parties. If it is true that the Japanese bandits were able to seize Manchuria, today, on the contrary, when these two parties have established a united front, the Japanese bandits are meeting with furious resistance and a fight for every strip of Chinese soil.

According to information available, the Japanese bandits are spending 20-25 million yen daily on the war. If the war lasts for a year, the finances of the Japanese bandits will go to pieces, since they will be spending 1,200 million yen more in a year than the treasury revenue will allow. The fourth point is that the united front is of international importance. The masses of workers and peasants and the Communist Parties of all countries are supporting the anti-Japanese national united front set up at the initiative of the Communist Party of China. The influence of the People's Front has extended still further since the establishment of collaboration between the Kuomintang and the Communist Party.

On the basis of all that has been said, we can draw the conclusion that the development of the united front between the two parties will bring China out onto the great, bright highroad leading to national liberation, to the ejection of Japanese imperialism from China and to the establishment of a united, free, democratic republic in China.

But these great tasks require the constant development of the united front until it becomes a thoroughgoing, strong united front of all the anti-Japanese forces in the country.

WHAT DO WE MEAN BY A THOROUGHGOING AND STRONG UNITED FRONT?

Is the anti-Japanese national united front limited merely to collaboration between the Kuomintang and the Communist Party? No, it must be a national united front. The Kuomintang and the Communist Party are only component units of this united front. Without doubt, the Kuomintang and the Communist Party are the leading forces of the great united front, but they are nevertheless only a part of it. The anti-Japanese national united front must be a united front of all parties, groups, organizations and army units, a united front of workers, peasants, traders, intellectuals and soldiers, a united front of all Chinese who love their fatherland.

The present united front, however, is as yet limited to the two parties; the wide masses of workers, peasants, soldiers and petty bourgeoisie who love their fatherland are as yet not organized and armed, and do not take an organized part in resisting the Japanese aggres-

sors. This is a serious question. We have suffered a number of defeats on the Northern front and on the Kiangsu and Chekiang fronts. The whole question is how to correct the situation that has arisen, how to overcome these difficulties.

The only way to overcome these difficulties is to fulfil the heritage of Sun Yat-sen, namely, to rouse the masses of the people. Sun Yat-sen said before his death that the whole experience of his forty years of struggle proved that only the participation of the whole of the people could lead to the successful culmination of the revolution. Why is this heritage not fulfilled at such a critical time? The masses of the people cannot be roused by "control" and "repression." In April, 1937, we pointed out to our Kuomintang brethren that if we could not rouse the masses of the people to take part in armed resistance, then China was menaced with the fate of Ethiopia. It was not only the Communists who pointed this out, but so also did other prominent citizens of our country and members of the Kuomintang itself. Unfortunately no changes took place, with the resulting divorcement of the government and the troops from the people, and of the commanders from the rank-and-file soldiers in the army. If the united front is not enriched by drawing the masses of the people into it, difficulties will inevitably increase and not decrease at the fronts.

Why is the policy of control not changed? Because the united front still has no common political program accepted by the two parties and officially published. The structure of the government, the army, the national policy, the financial and economic policy, the educational policy, all remain unchanged, *i.e.*, the same as they were ten years ago. The only change that has taken place is that the internal war has ceased, and that the whole of the country has begun to fight against Japan. This is the greatest change in the political life of China since the Sian events, but everything else has remained unchanged.

War against Japan has begun, but there are serious difficulties. The struggle against Japan demands the mobilization of the whole of the people, demands that they all be brought into a united front on the basis of a joint, common program that will serve as a compass for the united front. This united front program must firmly bind together all parties, groups, organizations and troops belonging to the united front, and the people; only in this way shall we achieve the consolidation and solidarity of the united front. We are against the old policy of control, because it does not answer the requirements of the national revolutionary war. We shall welcome the publication of a joint program, the establishment of revolutionary order, because only in that way will we be able to prepare for armed resistance.

THE STRUGGLE FOR THE REALIZATION OF SUN YAT-SEN'S THREE PEOPLE'S PRINCIPLES AND THE PROPOSALS OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY

What should be the basis of the joint program? The three people's principles of Sun Yat-sen and the proposals to save the fatherland put forward by the Communist Party on August 15, 1937.

In its declaration on collaboration with the Kuomintang, the Communist Party writes:

"The fulfilment of the three people's principles of Sun Yat-sen is essential for contemporary China, and our Party wishes to conduct a struggle to carry them out in practice consistently."

It may seem strange to some that the Communists should propose to carry out the three people's principles of Sun Yat-sen.

Chu Chin-lai, for example, in an article published in the *New Knowledge*, a periodical published in Shanghai, reflects the feelings of those who have doubts about it. He considers Communism and the three people's principles to be incompatible. That is a purely formal viewpoint. We are striving to bring about Communism, but at the present stage we

are carrying through the national-democratic revolution, which is why the Communist Party has advanced the slogan of the creation of the anti-Japanese national united front and the united democratic republic. As for putting the three people's principles into practice, it should be stated that ten years ago, at the first Congress of the Kuomintang, the Communists, together with members of the Kuomintang, adopted a decision to put them into practice. In 1925-27, they were in fact carried out in the country by loyal Communists and members of the Kuomintang. Unfortunately, however, the breakdown of the united front in 1927 stopped the operation of these principles of Sun Yat-sen for ten years.

The policy pursued by the Communists during these ten years has, in the main, corresponded to the revolutionary spirit of the three people's principles of Sun Yat-sen. Not for a single day have the Communists ceased the struggle against imperialism—this is now consistent nationalism; the Soviet of people's deputies is nothing but consistent democratism; the agrarian revolution undoubtedly embodies the principle of popular well-being.

Why have the Communists given up the further organization of Soviets and ceased the forcible confiscation of the land? Not because they consider that system unsuitable, but because the armed invasion of Japanese imperialism has brought about a change in the relation of classes inside the country; it has become essential and possible to unite the whole of the nation for the struggle against Japanese imperialism. At the same time a united democratic front for struggle against fascism is being established throughout the whole world. The formation of a national and democratic united front is a necessity for present-day China and therefore the Communists have put forward the slogan of a democratic republic instead of the slogan of Soviets.

The operation of the agrarian revolution—"those who till the land should have their own land"—was the policy preached by Sun Yat-sen in his day. Today we have ceased to confiscate the land in order to muster the whole of the population still further for the struggle against Japanese imperialism. But this by no means signifies that the agrarian problem in China is not in need of solution. We have unambiguously explained our viewpoint as to the objective causes that have inspired us to change our policy temporarily.

The Chinese Communists, basing themselves on the principles of Marxism, developed the common program of the first united front, *i.e.*, of the three people's principles of Sun Yat-sen. It was precisely for this reason that at the time when the foreign enemy invaded our territory, when the situation in the country had become extremely difficult, the Communists opportunely put forward the idea of the creation of a national, democratic united front—the only means of saving the country from danger and ruin.

Now the question at issue is not whether the Communists believe in or operate the three people's principles of Sun Yat-sen. Now it is a question of restoring the spirit of the three people's principles throughout the whole of the country, to give expression to it in a definite program and policy, and really to operate it unequivocally and without delay. It was to this end that on August 15, after the events in Lukouchiao, the Communists introduced their ten-point program of salvation. These ten proposals are based on the principles of Marxism and at the same time correspond to revolutionary Sun Yat-senism. This program is the preliminary program on the operation of which depends the salvation of China.

However, it is impossible to carry out this program without the agreement of the Kuomintang, since the Kuomintang is the largest party in power. We are sure that honest members of the Kuomintang and their leaders will agree to this program; if not, the three people's principles will remain empty phrases and we shall fail to restore the revolutionary spirit of Sun Yat-sen and vanquish Japa-

nese imperialism, in which case national ruin is inevitable.

Such a state of affairs must not be permitted by honest members of the Kuomintang and their leaders, and the whole of the people will not permit it. Chiang Kai-shek, in an interview on September 23, declared:

"I consider that our revolution is fighting not for personal sentiments and egoistic views, but for the realization of the three people's principles. It is not a time for the settling of old accounts when the question at stake for us is one of life and death. But the opportunity must be provided for a thorough revival of the whole people of our country, for every effort to be devoted to the consolidation of the country in order together to defend the life and existence of our state."

That is very true. The pressing task of the moment is to fulfil the three people's principles, to cast aside personal and group sentiments and private opinions, to replace all that has outlived its day, and immediately to operate a revolutionary program corresponding to the three principles. That is the only way out at the present time; delay means death.

The three people's principles cannot be carried out without a government of the national and democratic united front. The regime in the army is still the old one. It is impossible to defeat Japanese imperialism while such a regime continues in the army. Today the troops are fulfilling their sacred duty of fighting at the front. We are always ready to give their due to the Chinese troops, especially those fighting at the front. But the regime in the army does not favor the fulfilment of such a great task as the final destruction of the Japanese bandits and the successful realization of the revolutionary program of the three people's principles.

The regime in the army must be changed. This has been proved by the lessons of the armed struggle of the last three months. The guiding principle in reorganizing the army must be unity between the rank and file and their commanders, and unity between the troops and the population. The present regime in the army contradicts these two principles, and while the commanders and soldiers are very loyal and heroic fighters, they are unable to develop their activity because of the old conditions that continue to reign in the army. All this must be changed rapidly, without, of course, stopping the fighting in order to reconstruct the regime, but in the course of the fighting.

The chief task is to reorganize political work in the army and to renew the political spirit of the army. An example of this is the people's revolutionary army in the period of the great revolution when there was perfect unity in the army between the soldiers and their commanders, and between the army and the population. It is absolutely essential now to restore the revolutionary spirit that existed formerly. China must learn from the lessons of the war in Spain. The Spanish republican army was formed in extremely difficult circumstances. The conditions in China have their advantages over those in Spain, but the people of China suffer from the lack of a thoroughgoing and powerful united front, from the lack of a government of the united front capable of carrying out a revolutionary program, and of numerically strong army of the new type. China must overcome these shortcomings. At the present time, the former Red Army plays a partial role in regard to the whole front of the anti-Japanese war. It cannot as yet play a decisive role. But its superiority in the political, military and organizational sense serves as an example for all the other army units.

The Red Army did not become what it is at one blow; it went through considerable internal organizational work. The chief thing is that it did away with feudal survivals in the army regime, operated the principle of unity between the rank and file and their commanders and of unity between the army and the population. This is also an example to all army units.

Comrades of the Kuomintang, together with you we are today fulfilling our historic duty of saving the country and fighting for our existence.

Our united front must develop still further, it must become enriched with a new content, and while bringing the masses of the people into it we must strengthen it and carry out a joint program. We must be resolute in reorganizing the political system and the army regime. This proposal is the demand of the epoch; it is time it was carried out. Sun Yat-sen in his day took the decision to reconstruct the political and military system and by doing so created the basis for the great revolution of the past. Now this duty lies on our shoulders. All sincere members of the Kuomintang who love their country will not regard our proposal as out of place. We are convinced that it coincides with objective necessity, and hope that Chiang Kai-shek will personally undertake the solution of this task of reconstruction.

At the present moment, when the life of our people hangs on a thread, let the Kuomintang and the Communist Party, all Chinese who have no desire to be slaves, make the collaboration of the Kuomintang and the Communist Party the basis for rallying still closer together. The most important task of the Chinese revolution at the present time is to carry through the requisite reforms in order to overcome the difficulties.

If these tasks are fulfilled, we shall overthrow Japanese imperialism. Let us strain every effort; bright prospects lie before us.

Interview With Pen Te-huei on the Current Situation

[On the evening of November 15, 1937, we visited Pen Te-huei, assistant commander of the Eighth Route Army operating in the East of Shansi province. We put several questions to him as to how he estimated the present situation in China, what the prospects were of the struggle against Japan, and the tasks of the Eighth Route Army. We give here Pen Te-huei's replies to our questions.]

WHEN the powers which signed the Washington Nine-Power Pact were in session, the Japanese imperialists adopted a number of new measures. They refused to take part in the conference and simultaneously transferred their troops to China. This was an insolent challenge to the powers taking part in the conference and a violation of international agreement. This also meant the continuation by Japanese imperialism of its adventurist policy of seizing China and the striving to attain undivided hegemony in Eastern Asia by eliminating other countries from China, and, first and foremost, Britain and America.

In view of the fact that the Chinese government is fighting the enemy only with the forces of its army, without mobilizing the whole of the people, the Japanese aggressors have speeded up the seizure of important regions of North China. They are fighting allegedly for the autonomy of North China and the independence of Inner Mongolia. And what constitutes this "autonomy" and "independence"? In the region of the railway and automobile trunk roads from Tatun to Yan-chui, from Kalgan through We-sian, Huan-lin, Lan-tsiu, Fan-si, up to Yan-chui, all the houses have been reduced to ashes, over 100,000 peaceful inhabitants have been killed, countless numbers of women and girls have been violated, taken to Japanese barracks to be made into prostitutes. The same picture is to be observed in the regions of the Peiping-Hankow and Taiyuan-Tientsin railways. Incredible oppression, insults, assassinations and robbery drove the inhabitants of the towns of Nin-wu, Fan-si, Lin-tsu, Huan-lin, We-sian and Ae-yui to revolt against Japan. They were all killed to a man by the Japanese aggressors. This is cruelty unparalleled in the history of mankind.

Having occupied Taiyuan, the Japanese vultures continued their offensive southwards in order to seize the Lun-hai railway and the town of Sian, in the attempt thereby to create favorable conditions for the seizure of Middle China.

In the lower reaches of the River Yangtze, the Japanese aggressors have occupied Shanghai and are menacing Nanking and Hanchow, since these towns are closely connected with North China. For many years the Japanese imperialists have asserted that Manchuria is the vital nerve of Japan. After the occupation of Manchuria, they passed on to the assertion that Shanghai-huan and Jehol are closely connected with Manchuria. At the present time they have invaded North China, apparently because the latter is closely connected with Manchuria. But all that separates North China from Middle

China is the River Huanho, and undoubtedly they are closely connected, while everybody knows that South China, Indo-China and India are also closely inter-connected. According to the logic of the Japanese imperialists they should be seized by the Japanese.

Although China has lost enormous territories and the people's army has suffered severe losses, nevertheless we have accumulated rich experience during the four months of war. During this period we have organized wide masses of the people, and this organization is increasing with every day that passes. The present armed struggle against Japan differs considerably from that which took place during the Mukden events in 1931. The difference is that in the process of the war not a single soldier, not a single Chinese military unit has surrendered to Japan; that at the sight of the horrors committed by the Japanese aggressors in Manchuria, the patriotism of the Chinese people has grown; that North China has its Eighth Route Army which leads the masses of the people, organizes them, carries on partisan warfare and thereby scatters, wears down and weakens the forces of the enemy, thus creating favorable conditions for the counter-offensive of the people's army. These partisan detachments are rapidly being converted into units of the regular people's army.

The experience of four months of struggle in China shows that it is impossible with the forces of the army alone to stop Japanese aggression in China. We must bring the masses of the people into the anti-Japanese struggle, and these masses are already rising to the struggle. Therefore, although we have suffered losses, we have not suffered defeat and will undoubtedly be victorious if only we put up a resolute fight.

The need for launching a mass people's anti-Japanese movement is felt not only by the people themselves, but also by many leaders of the central and local authorities. They see the premises for victory in the launching of the mass movement. An illustration of this is the telegram of Sun Fo, president of the Legislative Chamber, addressed to the Eighth Route Army, in which it says that to win final victory military action alone is not sufficient; the movement of the mass of people must be developed. Witness to this also is the similar declaration of Chiang Kai-shek, chairman of the War Council.

We have accumulated great military experience. The first point is that the Chinese troops have begun to change their tactics. For instance, before Japan made her attack upon China, I was asked: "What will be China's tactics in the event of war against Japan?" I replied that it would be of advantage to us to employ tactics of mobile, partisan war, and not tactics of positional warfare, since China is a weak country and the war is conducted on the territory of China, in places which we know well and whose population supports us. Not long ago, after the victory in Pin Sin-Kuan, I wrote a pamphlet in which I raised the question of mobile war. However, insufficient attention was paid to this question at that time. Today, after several failures, all attention is turned to this question. Now it is clear to everybody that it is impossible to defeat the Japanese aggressors by passive defense alone, and that it is necessary to pass to active defense.

The four months' experience of struggle against Japanese aggression leaves the impression that the military tactics of the Japanese are by no means brilliant. The Japanese operate almost exclusively with their aviation, heavy guns and tanks. In the past many people thought that the military tactics of the Japanese were on a very high level. Actually this is far from true. Despite the fact that our Eighth Route Army is the weakest of all the Chinese armies in technical equipment, the enemy has not seized a single rifle from us. On the contrary, we have taken from the enemy over 3,000 rifles, we have destroyed over twenty Japanese airplanes, destroyed

over a thousand armored cars and lorries, taken many machine guns, countless quantities of cartridges, over a thousand army horses, large quantities of anti-aircraft and heavy guns and other war supplies. And the chief thing is that we have routed the famous Fifth Division of the Japanese Army, and the brigade commanded by Li Mo. An army with worse technical equipment than the other Chinese armies proved capable of defeating the best units of the Japanese Army! As for the quantitative relation of forces, the number of our men has not in a single battle exceeded the forces of the enemy. Hence the conclusion arises that the fighting ability of the Japanese troops is far from being on such a high level.

There is a regular army in China numbering 2,500,000 people. During four months of struggle we have lost more than 10 per cent in killed and wounded. Japan has a regular army of 300,000 men (in Japan the Second and Third reserves are already being called to the army). During the war the Japanese have lost approximately 150,000 people in killed and wounded. With our regular army we can continue the war for more than a year yet, and it is beyond all doubt that in the course of our further struggle the fighting spirit of the masses will grow uninterruptedly and we shall be able without a break to form new military units. These new military units linked up in the closest degree with the people, and enjoying their unbounded support, will incessantly raise their fighting power as well. Moreover, we shall gradually improve the lives of the people, ensure material assistance to the families of the men who will thus be able to fight without having to worry about their families. Thus genuine collaboration between the army and the people is established.

The government has not yet understood all the importance of the political education of the army and the improvement of the material conditions of the people. However, they will soon understand it, for the war still continues. The further the war develops, the closer do the people rally together. Japan will find itself up against the resistance of the whole of our people. Today the position of the government differs to a considerable extent from that which it adopted during the Mukden events in 1931; the relations between the troops and the people have changed. If the government displays pertinacity in continuing the struggle, the people will support this government still more firmly and thereby ensure victory.

We know that provocateurs and traitors are spreading rumors to the effect that China is not in a position to continue the war, that our losses are too great, that the Chinese troops are armed too poorly, etc. This is slander spread by Japanese agents. We must not believe them, it is our duty to refute them by facts. We are convinced that victory will be ours if only we are able to develop democracy, to improve the material conditions of the people and to change our strategy and tactics in the struggle against the Japanese aggressors. Our troops are worse armed than those of the enemy, but this difficulty can be overcome by capturing arms from the enemy.

Now let us talk about the Eighth Route Army. The Japanese have already occupied Tai-yuan and continue their offensive southwards. Our troops, however, remain in Shansi as hitherto. We have decided to remain in Shansi, Hopeh and in North China, in general, right up to the moment when the Japanese imperialists are driven out of North China and Manchuria. We are prepared to share the fate of the population of North China, to collaborate closely with them and fight against Japanese aggression. Although the Japanese aggressors have occupied Tai-yuan and several other towns, we have not retreated and our troops, as hitherto, occupy the whole of the northeast and northwest of China as, for example: Din-say, Yu-tai, Yui-san, Fan-si, Huan-lin, Lin-wu, Huen-wui, Insian and a large part of Dai-sian, Pun-sian, Yan-chao, Sy-yan, Yui-tsi and Pin-dun. In Chahar we occupy We-san, Tsao-

to (except the town), Yan-tsuiu (except the town); in Hopeh: Pin-shan, Tan-sian, Sin-tyan, Lin-si, Chao-yan, Wen-sian, Me-sian, Fu-pin, Lun-yui and Tse-tsin-huan. In these districts which have a population of about 10,000,000, there are over 20,000 partisans, half of whom are armed and connected with the Eighth Route Army. The population of the other districts have undertaken mass revolts and have organized into partisan detachments. Moreover, in Hopeh there are the "Min-tuan," partisan detachments formed of defeated Kuomintang units and numbering several tens of thousands of men. In Chahar and Sui-yuan partisan detachments are rising up like mushrooms after rain, and are trying to make contacts with us and obtain our help. In Ye-sian, partisan detachments under the leadership of Jao-tun, and numbering several thousands have joined the units of the Eighth Route Army. In Me-chen partisan detachments numbering 8,000-9,000 under the leadership of Men have also joined our units.

Indeed, the enemy is in a difficult position. They have occupied a number of strategic points along the railway lines which we have destroyed. Several tens of thousands of Japanese troops in the region of Taiyin get their supplies by aviation because of the absence of rail transport. The Japanese have no support among the Chinese population, they are unable to make use of prisoners since our troops do not surrender. The Japanese imperialists have swallowed Northern China just as they might have swallowed a bomb which will explode sooner or later.

The enemy is attempting to break the connections between the Eighth Route Army and its rear. The Eighth Route Army, however, has never suffered from want of support of the rear, since the whole territory of China, every place populated by Chinese people is our rear. The Eighth Route Army is surrounded by the masses of the people. It is easier for us to cut the communications between the Japanese agressors and their rear, since the Japanese are fighting on Chinese territory.

The Eighth Route Army has decided not to cross the River Huanho, and to remain in Northern China along with its hundred million population. We are organizing and arming the men and women of North China, and shall make fighters against Japanese imperialism out of this hundred million population.

The yielding of several big cities has introduced a certain disappointment in the ranks of the youth, but there are no grounds for this disappointment. Everything depends on our work. The growing partisan units in North China will very rapidly be transformed into a regular army, and this new army will be better than the present one, for its men join the army voluntarily. They are closely connected with the population and will be able to act splendidly together with them. We have no grounds whatsoever for pessimism. Everything depends on our work. Victory lies ahead.

Appeal of the Chinese Eighth Route Army to Japanese Soldiers *

JAPANESE SOLDIERS!

You probably have long ago heard of the Chinese Red Army. The present Eighth Army is the former "Red Army" which the Japanese press frequently calls the "Communist Army."

It is sad that we meet on the field of battle with arms in hand and to shed each other's blood! You, who are of the workers and peasants of Japan, dressed in soldier's uniform, set out for the war in China on the orders of the militarist cliques, abandoning your fatherland, leaving behind parents, wives and children. We also are of the workers and peasants of China, and left for the front exclusively to resist the aggression of the Japanese militarists, to defend the territory and interests of the Chinese people, and thereby to defend the interests of the Japanese workers and peasants! Our fight is not against the Japanese workers and peasants; on the contrary, we want to go hand in hand with them.

Japanese soldiers! Think for a moment: what do you gain from sacrificing your lives on the field of battle? Nothing at all! If Japan is victorious, the Japanese soldiers, workers and peasants will again be the victims, while all the good things will be enjoyed by the Japanese capitalists, landlords and militarists. If Japan is victorious, the ruling circles of Japan will consolidate their rule for long years to come, will intensify the exploitation of the workers and peasants and thereby increase the enslavement of the Chinese people by the Japanese militarists. If Japan is defeated, then the ruin of the Japanese militarists is inevitable. The Japanese workers and peasants will begin a revolution, will achieve their liberation, and you will the sooner return to Japan, you will see your parents, wives and children, and will fight hand in hand with your working class and peasantry for a better future.

Japanese soldiers! Rise up in revolt! Turn your rifles against the Japanese militarists, your oppressors and exploiters! We shall fight with you for the emancipation of the Japanese workers and peasants, for the emancipation of the Chinese people. Today we are fighting against each other in the firing line and only we—workers, peasants and soldiers of Japan and China—are the victims of this fighting. Let us stop the fighting and begin fraternization!

Japanese soldiers! In vain are you sacrificing your lives. Nobody will bury your bodies as they lie on Chinese soil. Neither the workers and peasants of your homeland, nor the workers and peasants of the world want you to fight against the Chinese people. Although you are sacrificing your lives, workers and peasants throughout the world will not forgive you this sacrifice. Ponder over and understand this!

The Chinese troops are fighting against you for the sole purpose of emancipating the Chinese people, of resisting the Japanese fascist aggressors. The Chinese soldiers are also sacrificing their lives in this struggle, but their sacrifice is a deed of glory; they have the support of the workers and peasants of your

* From the periodical *Hai Fan*, No. 19, Oct. 9, 1937.

homeland and the peoples of the whole world!

Japanese soldiers! Cross over to our side! We shall not treat you badly, we shall not kill you. If you come over voluntarily to our side, you will be brothers and friends of the Chinese people. If you should wish to serve in the Chinese army, you will be able to do so. If you should want to return to Japan, we will send you there. If you are not the first to fire at us, we also shall not fire upon you. We shall not kill a single one of you, if you only agree to surrender your weapons. We shall warmly welcome all who, on being disarmed, are willing to work in the Chinese army; those who do not want to serve in the Chinese army, we shall immediately send home. On no account shall we kill unarmed or disarmed Japanese soldiers.

Japanese soldiers! Do not sacrifice your lives for the sake of the interests of the Japanese militarists! Return to Japan, where your parents, wives and children await you! Return to Japan and rise up in revolution together with the workers and peasants! Japanese and Chinese soldiers, unite! Stop the war and begin fraternization! Japanese soldiers, help the Chinese people in their struggle for emancipation, refuse to war against the Chinese people!

Down with Japanese imperialism!

Long live the emancipation of the Japanese workers, peasants and soldiers!

CHU TEH, COMMANDER OF THE EIGHTH ROUTE ARMY.

PEN TE-HUEI, ASSISTANT COMMANDER OF THE EIGHTH ROUTE ARMY.

ALL COMMANDERS AND THE RANK AND FILE OF THE EIGHTH ROUTE ARMY.

The Oath of Loyalty of Fighters of the Chinese Eighth Route Army

JAPANESE imperialism is the mortal enemy of the Chinese nation. The imperialists strive to enslave our country and destroy our nation; they kill our relatives and friends, violate our mothers, wives and sisters, burn down our homes, destroy our farms, implements and cattle. In the name of our nation, our country, our fellow-countrymen, in the name of our children and grandchildren, we swear to resist the Japanese aggressors to the end.

For six years already we have been fighting to save our fatherland from the Japanese aggressors. A united national front has already been established. Our army has been renamed the People's Revolutionary Army, and we are setting off to the front lines to destroy the enemy.

We sincerely support the National Government and Chiang Kai-shek, President of the Military Council, who are in charge of the defense of our country against the Japanese aggressors. We undertake to subordinate ourselves to the single command of the Military Council, strictly to observe discipline and not to return home until the Japanese aggressors have been driven out of our country, until all national traitors are wiped off the face of our land.

We, sons of workers and peasants, swear that we shall not deprive the population of a single thread; we swear always to serve the interests of the people, to adopt a brotherly attitude to troops fighting shoulder to shoulder with us against the common enemy; we swear to be devoted to the revolution. We are prepared to accept the criticism of comrades and to answer for it with all the severity of revolutionary discipline should we violate the interests of the nation.

The Reactionary Line of the Central Committee of the Social-Democratic Party of Germany

BY K. FUNK

"BRAVO!" writes the *Neue Vorwaerts*, organ of the Prague Central Committee of the Social-Democratic Party of Germany, concerning the declaration of the triple alliance of fascist aggressors calling for a struggle against Bolshevism. The cry "bravo" seems so natural to the central organ of the Socialist Party of Germany that it looks around with self-satisfaction and asks: "Who will not say 'bravo'?" What is more, the *Neue Vorwaerts* demonstrates to the whole world that the reactionary leaders of the Socialist Party of Germany, at bottom, outdo the authors of the Berlin-Rome-Tokyo "Anti-Comintern" pact in their anti-Bolshevism.

The present leaders of the fascist-persecuted Socialist Party of Germany, the same leaders who voted *for* the foreign policy of the Hitler government in the spring of 1933, *i.e.*, after the burning of the Reichstag, at a time when hundreds and thousands of steadfast anti-fascists were marching to the scaffold or languishing in the Gestapo dungeons, are trying to picture Bolshevism . . . as the forerunner of fascism. And this wild idea enters the heads of the living corpses of the Prague Central Committee of the Socialist Party of Germany, because "Bolshevism cruelly rooted out the bourgeoisie."

It is true that the Bolsheviks, the inspirers and organizers of the great socialist revolution in the U.S.S.R., actually were ruthless in rooting out the exploiting classes who resisted the advance of the Soviet people just as they are ruthless today in rooting out the nests of Trotsky-Bukharinite fascists who are attempting by their disruptive wrecking work to hold up the victorious growth of socialism and to restore capitalism and the bourgeois order of which the leaders of German Social-Democracy are the advocates.

But today it is not only every worker, collective farmer and intellectual of the U.S.S.R. who knows that the merciless struggle against enemies of the people is one of the decisive conditions for the final and irrevocable victory of socialism in the U.S.S.R. The workers of the capitalist countries know it as well. It is only for the reactionary leaders of German Social-Democracy that this elementary truth is a closed book.

People who today write articles welcoming the conclusion by the fascist aggressors of a pact for struggle against world peace, people who write: "Aye, we are against Bolshevism!" display their complete kinship with the Ebert-Noske government which in its manifesto of January, 1919, declared war against "the new Russian military despotism." These people still protest today against

the indisputable historical fact that "had it not been for the Social-Democratism of Ebert and Noske in Germany the victory of fascism would have been impossible." (Dimitroff.)

But they cannot deny the words and deeds of Ebert, they cannot conceal that the Kerns and Klingers continue to repeat today what the Hilferdings and Heyers once wrote about and did.

Yes, they devote whole pages of their press to "proving" their ridiculous assertion that the great socialist October Revolution brought fascism into the world. And if we look at the dog-eared pages of the old *Vorwaerts* (organ of the Central Committee of the Socialist Party of Germany) for 1919, we will find reports in it that by no means yield place to the lying fabrications of the present-day fascist press. For example, on January 17, 1919, the *Vorwaerts* reported that "a strike against Bolshevism" had broken out, and that "the need for agreement with the bourgeoisie had been put forward as the official strike slogan." There is no doubt that in this particular case, as far as the *Vorwaerts* was concerned, the wish was father to the thought! And we ask, what would the world look like today if that wish of the *Vorwaerts* had come true, and if the socialist revolution in the U.S.S.R. had been drowned in the blood of counter-revolution.

The *Neue Vorwaerts* gave an indirect reply to this question in a foul article devoted to the twentieth anniversary of the October Revolution. It reproaches Bolshevism with having interfered in the "process of adapting" socialism (read—Social-Democracy) to post-war conditions.

The *Neue Vorwaerts* blames the Soviet Union and Bolshevism for the fact that the MacDonalds, De Mans, Spaaks, Yakshs and Franzels met with resistance among the workers in general and opposition in their own ranks, and were unable, unhindered, to do their work of misleading the workers and driving them into agreements with the bourgeoisie. It never occurred to the organ of the Central Committee of the Socialist Party of Germany that it is precisely in this that the international proletariat sees the immeasurable service rendered by Bolshevism.

Yet who must bear the responsibility for the rout of democracy and the establishment of the bloody rule of fascism in Germany? Let us listen to the sober voice of Social-Democrats not blinded by hatred of Bolshevism. In the *Zeitschrift fur Socialismus* (organ of the leadership of the Socialist Party of Germany) of September and October, 1934, there was discussed the "platform of the united front" in which incidentally it says:

"Reformism lost democracy, for it never conducted a serious struggle for it and was always terrified of mobilizing the masses, even for the struggle to maintain and extend democracy. Reformism was afraid that if the masses were mobilized for the struggle for democratic rights, they would go beyond the bounds set up for them by the reformist leadership and would lead the struggle for social revolution, something not desired by reformism. But since democracy in a capitalist state can only be defended and maintained by means of an offensive of the proletarian masses conducting an extra-parliamentary struggle for power, reformism in the last analysis had to surrender without a fight even the democratic field of battle; it began—especially after the Kapp putsch and the murder of Rathenau—by disarming the masses of the people who had risen up in defense of the democratic republic, since they were striving to continue the struggle, to pass on from the defensive to the offensive, for the purpose of fully guaranteeing democracy and defending the class interests of the proletariat."

There can be no doubt that the authors of this Social-Democratic platform in 1934, directly influenced by the defeat of the German working class, wrote what millions of honest supporters of Social-Democracy were thinking. Even the Central Committee of the Socialist Party of Germany considered it essential in its

draft program, when appraising the tactics of the Social-Democratic Party in 1918, to say at that time (Jan., 1934):

"Social-Democracy, as the only organized force left untouched, met with no resistance when it undertook (in 1918) the leadership of the state. From the very outset it shared this leadership with the bourgeois parties, with the old bureaucracy, even with the reorganized military apparatus. The fact that it accepted the old state machine, almost without any modification was the most serious historical mistake made by the German labor movement that had lost its bearings during the war."

The authors of the program remain silent about the fact that it was precisely this "mistake" that laid the basis for German fascism. However, from the excerpt quoted above, it is not difficult to understand that fundamentally the Social-Democratic leaders admitted this truth. And these admissions of the historical mistakes of Social-Democracy in their time considerably assisted the German labor movement in finding the new line after the defeat.

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of Germany, after the world-historic decisions of the Seventh Congress of the Communist International and the decisions of the Brussels Conference of the Communist Party of Germany, persistently and patiently put forward proposals for a united front and for the establishment of the anti-fascist People's Front in Germany despite the fact that the representatives of the party leadership of the Socialist Party of Germany at that time were poisoning the atmosphere of comradely discussion with provocative articles.

The viewpoint adopted at the end of 1935 by the "revolutionary socialists," part of German Social-Democracy, while persistently pointing to the danger of a new world war and to the need for all sections of the German labor movement to take a clear position, gave grounds for supposing that there were forces making headway inside Social-Democracy which recognized the seriousness of the moment and the magnitude of the historic tasks facing the German working class. In "Letters of Revolutionary Socialists," that group wrote at the time:

"If the forces of destruction are growing in old Europe, it is the forces of culture and peace that are growing in Soviet Russia." And the group pointed to the intensification of the war danger while "the proletarian dictatorship is building its economy free from crises, and the leaders of capitalist economy are beginning to doubt their own system."

Since then we have experienced the robber war of Italian fascism in Ethiopia. We live in days when war is being conducted with the latest technical equipment of German and Italian fascism against the Spanish people. We live in days when a heroic struggle is being conducted by the Chinese people in defense of their independence against the Japanese robbers.

All these modern wars are accompanied by hesitation, vacillation and the violation of the most elementary international rights by bourgeois-democratic powers. And in these stormy days the fight to maintain world peace is conducted by the mighty Soviet Union alone —the land of socialist democracy where triumphs the most stable and indestructible united front, the bloc of Communists and non-Party people. Precisely by this, its unalterable role, the U.S.S.R. now fills the hearts of many Social-Democratic working people with courage. It is precisely the peace-loving policy of the U.S.S.R., its unceasing struggle against the fascist aggressors, that win for it the sympathy of countless numbers of people throughout the world.

All the more strictly, therefore, must we appraise the behavior of the Prague leadership of German Social-Democracy. Not only does it stubbornly reject all attempts to establish collaboration between anti-fascists in Germany, but demonstratively displays its role of opponent of

any real struggle against fascism, by beating the kettledrum like a herald of anti-Bolshevism.

By it behavior the Prague C.C. of German Social-Democracy injures the fate of the German toiling masses.

The Social-Democratic workers can and should, with every ground for doing so, raise the question: Where does the road lead, Prague Central Committee? And with what companions? It is clear that this road does not lead to the overthrow of Hitler and the emancipation of Germany from fascist barbarism. It is clear that one can find along this road only such allies as are enemies of the German people, enemies of mankind as a whole. The German working class, however, on its road needs the friendship of all freedom-loving and progressive peoples of the world. The peoples of the U.S.S.R. and all sincere friends of the first socialist state in the world are the strongest bulwark of such friendship.

The Franzel Case and Its Lessons

BY P. VIDEN

THE fascist leader of the Sudeten Germans in Czechoslovakia, Rutha, recruited young German "compatriots" to make them his "bedfellows" and evaded the trial threatening him by committing suicide. Not only the clique of leaders of Sudet-German fascism, but also the leader of Sudet-German Social-Democracy, Dr. Ernst Franzel, editor of the *Social-Democrat* and the *Kampf*, mourned over the grave of this homosexual agent of Hitler. When Dr. Franzel heard rumors of the indignation among the Social-Democratic workers he gave an interview to the bourgeois paper *Prager Montagsblatt* in which he declared:

"My attitude towards Rutha was always a good and correct one."

Then he blurted out that the party had not prohibited him taking part in the funeral of the fascist leader and that the General Secretary of German Social-Democracy, Taube, had said after the funeral:

"We shall have something more to say about this business, for it has shaken up public opinion a good deal."

In a small notice on the back page, the *Social-Democrat* informed its readers: "We hereby declare that the German Social-Democratic Labor Party had nothing to do with delegating Dr. Franzel to Rutha's funeral, he being on vacation at that time." To this more than mild criticism of Franzel's sympathy for the fascists, Franzel replied by leaving the Social-Democratic Party. It was not the party that give him the boot, but he the party. After leaving it, he cynically asserted that he considered himself a Socialist and advocate of Social-Democracy as hitherto, a cynical assurance which the Social-Democratic press took note of in friendly fashion. Usually only the friends of the Soviet Union and supporters of the united front are expelled from the Social-Democratic Party, while the enemies of the Soviet Union and of the united front may remain "advocates" of that party even in case of open collaboration with the fascists.

The Franzel case is more than a mere local event; it is significant of the awful demoralization of many Social-Democratic leaders. For the editor of the *Social-Democrat* to participate in a fascist funeral procession is no accident, but the consequence of a long projected process. This Franzel was not only on "good and correct terms" with the fascist Rutha, but was also close to fascist ideology. This fellow-traveler of fascism lauded the middle ages as the epoch of the blossoming of "Western Socialism," he agitated for the fascist state of "estates" and flirted with the Hapsburgs; he was the sponsor of the hirelings of Trotsky who used the *Social-Democrat* and the *Kampf* to carry on a criminal campaign of slander against the Soviet Union and against the interests of the Czechoslovak people. Franzel and his gang marched alongside Dr. Goebbels in the struggle against the Soviet Union, against the pact between Czechoslovakia and the mighty state of socialism, against the united and People's Front, against working class unity.

Again and again the Communists

warned the Social-Democratic workers against these enemies in the ranks of the working class movement, again and again the Social-Democratic leaders shielded Franzel and behaved towards this friend of Rutha as to one of their own. They should have understood many years ago that nothing bound this self-satisfied man of letters to the working class, that Social-Democracy for him was a place where he could satisfy his conceit, that he was not only an alien body in the working class movement, but an element of demoralization; yet they helped to advance him, placed their press at his disposal, since he displayed himself as one hostile towards Communism and the U.S.S.R.

Almost any enemy of the Soviet Union and the Communist International finds shelter in the Social-Democratic Parties. In the name of "freedom of opinion" any "Socialist" is allowed to spread anti-Marxist views in the *Social-Democrat*, to develop semi-fascist ideas, to maintain good relations with fascist friends. But this "freedom of opinion" immediately ends if a member of the Social-Democratic Party expresses any opinion that the reactionary leaders consider "Communist."

What a truly miserable spectacle! While the Social-Democratic workers of Czechoslovakia are waging a fierce struggle against Heinlein fascism, the editor of their central organ maintains friendly relations with Heinlein fascists; while the Social-Democratic workers resist the menace of Hitler fascism, Franzel and his gang declare that the chief enemy is the U.S.S.R., and the main task, the fight against Bolshevism. The Social-Democratic Party leadership has not only failed to drive wreckers of the Franzel type out of the working class movement, and opportunely to purge their party's ranks of them, but the anti-Marxist writings of Franzel are praised to the skies in every possible way. People alien and hostile to the working class are even now drawn in as valuable members of the staff of the *Social-Democrat*. Hatred of the Communists so blinds the reactionary Social-Democratic leaders that it renders them incapable of recognizing the enemy in their midst.

Events of tremendous importance are coming to a head. And it would seem that the Social-Democratic Parties of Czechoslovakia (Czech and German) should be vitally interested to bring about working class unity and on no account to allow German fascism to penetrate into its ranks, and "fifth column" people to get into the party organizations and editorial offices of newspapers and periodicals.

The stubborn fight of our Communist comrades against the counter-revolutionary Trotskyite group in the editorial office of the *Social-Democrat* is to be explained not by narrow party and die-hard sentiments, but a profound solicitude for the interests of the whole of the Czechoslovak working class, by a deep feeling of responsibility for the fate of the Czechoslovak republic.

There is a serious danger that the Social-Democratic Central Committee, and first and foremost the leaders of German Social-Democracy in Czechoslovakia, will, in their enmity towards Communists, lose all understanding of the fact that the most important task facing the working class as a whole is to purge the working class movement of unclean and hostile elements.

The fact that such a filthy fascist blackguard as Franzel was able for so long to be a leading Social-Democratic figure is a very alarming phenomenon. It is a great pity that the healthy, class-conscious elements of Social-Democracy have not used the case of Franzel in order to carry through a serious purge of their party. And those are bad defenders of the republic against Hitler fascism who vote for its defense in parliament, while failing to protect the organizations of the working class—the bulwark of the republic—against the penetration into their ranks of fascists, adventurers and wreckers.

Know Your Enemies!

The Insidious Methods of Work of the Fascist Secret Police

BY C. BOBROVSKAYA

AN EFFECTIVE struggle against the enemy demands a knowledge of the methods and tricks employed by them in their wrecking work.

In his report at the February-March Plenum of the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. (1937), Comrade Stalin said that "the necessary measures must be taken to enable our comrades, both Party and non-Party Bolsheviks, to become familiar with the aims and objects, with the practice and technique of the wrecking, diversionist and espionage work of the foreign intelligence services." This advice of Comrade Stalin also fully applies to all the sections of the Communist International, to anti-fascists throughout the world.

In order to introduce the poison of disintegration among anti-fascist fighters and fighters for Communism, the fascist secret services resort to the most brazen, most subtle methods of provocation.

Foreign intelligence services have sent and still send fascist-Trotskyist spies, diversionists, wreckers and assassins to the Soviet Union, the country which the working people of the world regard with such joy, pride and hope.

These secret services do not stop at any crime, and incessantly and systematically recruit and place their agents-provocateurs inside the Communist Party organizations which are compelled in the countries of fascist dictatorship to work underground under difficult conditions.

Of the extensive documentary material concerning the insidious methods of work of the secret police in capitalist countries, we give, in the present short sketch, only individual cases of the wrecking work done by the German, Italian and Polish secret police; but even these cases characterize convincingly enough the methods employed by the enemy in order to deliver blows at the Communist Party, the foremost detachment of the working class.

I.

THE GERMAN SECRET POLICE—THE GESTAPO

G., an unstable member of the German Communist Party, is arrested in the street and is undergoing examination. At first he tries to give evasive answers, but the guard shouts out: "We'll teach you to tell the truth, we'll grind you down to powder." They begin to flog the arrested man and the "faint-hearted Communist" declares: "I will give truthful testimony."

"Here's a pencil and paper," says the Gestapo interrogator, "sit down and write all you know about your comrades; in a couple of days you will be released."

Incarcerated in his cell G. thinks over the situation and decides: "I hold a trump card—deception. I shall use every possibility of deceiving the Gestapo by telling them the most insignificant facts, mingle truth with fiction, so that it all looks like the truth."

In his testimony to the Gestapo G. plays his "trump card," the result of

which, as might have been expected, was betrayal, for he mentioned forthcoming meetings with his comrades working underground, etc. The newly-fledged secret police agent, traitor to the Party, is given a job by the Gestapo:

"This evening when it is dark, you will go to Lena C. and try to discover whether other Communists still visit her, whether they know you have been arrested, and tell them some story about why you have been missing. Understand? Only don't try to get away or tell about your being arrested; you'd better remember that we'll get you from the bottom of the sea, you're in our hands. Two of our people will accompany you and wait for you in a car. Stop in a street close by, go to Lena C., spend not more than an hour with her, return here, and report everything to me."

When G. went to Lena C., she asked in astonishment where he had been; to which G. replied that he had been trailed during the last few days and had been compelled to stop at home; and when she said in alarm that in that case he should not have come to her because she had noticed that they were on her heels as well, he replied that he had only dropped in for a minute. He then returned to the men in the waiting car, and reported to the Gestapo commissar that the organization knew nothing about his arrest, to which the latter replied with satisfaction: "That's the chief thing."

The next day G. was warned that he would have to have an interview with yet another chief and take the oath before being released. . . . "So, raise your hand and repeat after me: 'I swear to remain loyal to my fatherland, never to betray, to be a true subject of the Fuehrer, Adolph Hitler.'"

After taking the oath, G. was led to the chief, from whom he received a number of other jobs.

On parting, the chief made the following speech: "I tell you now that if you try to tell anybody that you have been under arrest, or attempt to flee abroad, we shall hear of it all in good time and you will find no peace anywhere in the whole world. For you know that we destroy those who betray us; we shall unmask you to your former comrades, so that there, also, your goose will be cooked. Of course, you understand all that."

"I understand," replied G., "having said 'a' I must say 'b'."

G. kept his word to the secret police and continued his work of provocation and betrayal of his party and class.

II.

The Gestapo frequently instructs recruited agents to "confess" to the Party organization that they became agents of the secret police in order to "deceive" the Gestapo. Thus, for example, one such recruited traitor related how, having been tricked into meeting a Gestapo agent in a cafe, he agreed, at the first meeting with a "solid gentleman about fifty years old," to become an agent, but "conditionally": as he was in opposition to the central institutions of the Party, he was prepared to give everything away to the Gestapo concerning the center, but was unwilling to betray the Communists of his native town. The "solid gentleman" accepted this proposal, noting, incidentally, that he was well-informed about the Communist activities of the workers of the town in question, even without the newly-recruited agent.

"For me," said he demagogically, "it is most important to have contact with the center . . . which demands greater and greater sacrifices from the little people living and working in the country."

At the next meeting, the newly-recruited agent asked the secret service agent as to what the prospects were regarding their future relations; to which he received the reply that he—the "solid gentleman"—was entrusted with the task of "destroying Marxism" by all means possible, and that, on the basis of expereince, he had come to the conclusion that this question could not be solved by terror alone; "it is necessary," he said, "to get into the leadership and so break up the Communist organizations."

III.

The agents of the fascist secret police strain every effort to get into the Party leadership, while at the same time spreading all kinds of stories about the Party's tactical line being incorrect, being either too Left, or too Right.

"The Central Committee drives you into strikes, demonstrations, to get you all cut about," says the secret police agent, who has wormed his way into the Party organization of some outlying locality; in some other place, also far away in the provinces, another secret agent provocatively declared: "It is high time we stopped all the humdrum everyday work; the feeling everywhere is: 'give us arms.'"

Though the Gestapo discredits the central institutions and individual leading workers of the Communist Party, this does not prevent it from utilizing, for its own purposes, the efforts of the local Party groups, isolated from the center, to unite on a district scale and establish contacts with the Central Committee. For example, in the Ruhr, Gestapo agents, pretending to be representatives of the Central Committee, at one time "worked" hard to unite the local Party groups, in order later, through this district unity, to open up a way to the Central Committee of the Party.

IV.

The Gestapo also tries to make use of the workers' desire for the united front. It instructs its agents to conduct "agitation" for the united front, reckoning thus to penetrate easily into the Social-Democratic and Catholic organizations, and then, through these organizations, into the Communist Party.

Not so long ago, the following incident took place in B. The Communist Party organization entered into an agreement with the Social-Democrats and Catholics to render aid to political prisoners. A short time later it was discovered that the "representative" of the Social-Democrats was a Gestapo agent. With his assistance, the whole organization was smashed and all its members arrested.

V.

The Gestapo spreads its network of spies far and wide over the border localities, and for its own purposes, of course, "permits" the import of Communist literature into the country. For example, in Upper Silesia, a Communist received information from a comrade whom he had till then fully trusted that an opportunity had arisen for passing literature over a certain point of the frontier. The Communist organized the delivery of a large quantity of literature to the given point of the frontier, but on the German side it was not comrades who came for the literature, but Gestapo agents; and so the literature was confiscated.

Once the Communist literature is in its dirty hands, the Gestapo resorts to new acts of provocation with it, as was the case in B., when all the inhabitants of two densely populated tenements in a working class district suddenly received issues of the *Rote Fahne*. Soon afterwards, all those who failed to bring the newspaper to the police were searched and arrested. This piece of provocation was planned to stop workers in general from taking Communist literature for fear that it came from the Gestapo.

The Gestapo instructs its agents, recruited from among the workers, to give the Communists information regarding the situation in the factories, regarding conflicts arising in connection with wages, etc.; and all is done for purposes of provocation, it being calculated that the provocateur, once having won the confidence of the Communists, will be able to worm his way into the Party organization, or remain a "sympathizer" and be to some extent "in the know" about the illegal work of the Party organization.

In an extensive network of special schools, Gestapo agents study the docu-

ments of the Communist Party, Party tactics, the structure of the Party organizations, and learn to write articles "on the line of the Party," etc.

From among these more cunning agents with special qualifications, the Gestapo recruits cadres for more "responsible" provocation. In particular, the Gestapo sends these qualified provocateurs, masked as trusted men of the Central Committee of the Party, into districts in which, after mass arrests, the Communist Party organizations are smashed up and connections with the center temporarily lost. The "trusted men of the Central Committee restore" the local Party organization and in a number of cases, as shown by documents, these foul provocateurs remain unmasked for quite a long time.

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THE OVRA, ITALIAN SECRET POLICE

The Ovra, the Italian fascist secret police, resorts to no less subtle provocation for the purpose of destroying all revolutionary, and particularly Communist, organizations.

I.

Communist V. set out for a business interview with R., a woman member of the Party, but R. did not put in an appearance at the stipulated time—she had been arrested.

Two days later V. also disappeared. There was no doubt left in the minds of the comrades but that he had been arrested. However, a fortnight had hardly passed before a letter was received from abroad, from V., asking the comrades to send him money. He gave the following version of his sudden disappearance:

On his return from the meeting with R. which had not taken place, he set off for his apartment, but on seeing a light in the window of his room, and supposing the police to be in possession, he did not go home, or to any of his comrades, for fear of compromising them, but left the town and made his way across the frontier without outside help.

The comrades felt doubts about V.'s letter, for it was difficult to imagine that the police, having made a raid, would leave a light shining in the window. It also seemed improbable that V. would have set off on a long journey without any help from comrades, without money, or contacts.

The Party organization set about an investigation of this puzzling affair. It was established beyond all possible doubt that V. had been arrested on the evening on which he had allegedly managed to avoid arrest and get abroad, and had then become an Ovra agent. The letter to the comrades had not been written from abroad, but from prison at the dictation of the secret police. The police had seen to it that the letter was sent from abroad. It was also established that on agreeing to collaborate in the Ovra, V. was given the job of getting close to the center of the Italian Communist Party.

Holding such high hopes concerning the recruited agent, the Ovra did its utmost to cover up all traces of him. Thus, contrary to custom, the newspapers received a detailed list of arrested Communists through the Stefani official telegraph agency, containing fantastic versions of the circumstances of their arrest. (Actually it was established that it was V. who betrayed the arrested comrades.) As for V. himself, who was called by his real name, the report stated that he was a very responsible official whom unfortunately "it had not been possible to catch," having "fled abroad."

And when all this cunningly woven maneuver of the secret police collapsed, when V. was unmasked by the Party, a Trotskyite sheet hurried to the help of the secret police provocateur by supporting in its columns the rumors spread by the secret police that not V. was the betrayer, but those accusing him of being one.

By these methods, police agents are sometimes successful in temporarily paralyzing Party work in one locality or another and in concealing real agents-provocateurs. In the given case, not even the support of the Trotskyite sheet was

of help to the Ovra in its attempt to preserve its agent-provocateur.

II.

Here is another similar case from the "work" of the Italian "Ovra." A certain member of the Party, J., was arrested. Months went by and J. suddenly turned up at the apartment which served for special conspirative purposes. Prior to this the address of this apartment had not been known to J., and when he arrived there, he told of how he had been arrested, and taken to another town, to the P. prison. He had been interrogated, he said, several times by the chief of the political department of the Ministry for Home Affairs. That official had told him a number of facts allegedly reported by other arrested Communists, one of whom he, J., afterwards met in the secret department. This comrade, he stated, had advised him to "compromise" with the secret police.

A few days later J. was sent by train to Rome. Before arriving at one of the stations, before which there is a steep incline and the train moves very slowly, J. jumped through the carriage window. His flight, his tale ran, was a complete success. For several days he had had to hide in the home of a priest, and then, after obtaining money from comrades, he had managed to get back to Rome by roundabout means.

As for the address of the conspirative apartment, he had obtained that in prison from the comrade who had recommended him, in the interests of the Party, to "compromise" with the secret police.

J.'s story of his flight might have seemed feasible, the more so since on investigation it turned out that the priest who had allegedly given him refuge really did exist; moreover, *on the itinerary sheet of the train indicated, the stops on the way had been registered in connection with the flight of the prisoner.* The itinerary sheet, of course, had been fabricated by the secret police interested in covering up their agent.

However, despite the apparent likelihood of the escape, the comrades nevertheless did not believe in the truth of J.'s tale, and made further investigations into the circumstances of the escape. Then J. the traitor and double-dealer resorted to the following trick: he admitted that he had told a false story and asked to be heard by two leading comrades to whom he would tell the whole truth. The new story was that he had really made an attempt to escape, but that it had been unsuccessful and then, seeing that his position was hopeless, he remembered the advice of the comrade he had met in jail about compromising with the secret police, and agreed to become their agent, desiring at the same time to help the Party. The secret police had proposed that he do his utmost to penetrate into the apparatus of the Central Committee of the Party and provide political information, in exchange for which J. would be released, without being asked to give away his comrades.

In order to convince the comrades of the sincerity of his story, that he, J., had not openly betrayed, but had made a "compromise" with the secret police in the interests of the Party, J. named two Party members, agents of the secret police, about whom an official had told him. Moreover, he reported that the secret police had obtained information from some source or other concerning a number of facts about the activities of some more comrades.

In both the first and the second story, J. played a foul double-dealing game in the attempt to mislead the Party. But he was unsuccessful. The Party organization established the point beyond all shadow of doubt that J. was an agent-provocateur, recruited by the secret police without any "compromise" being made. As for the facts he reported allegedly to the advantage of the Party organization, the names of the two Party members, secret police agents, were already known to the Party organizations, and investigations had been made concerning them. As to the facts con-

cerning the activities of a number of comrades, they had been given to the secret police by J. himself, as well as the address of the conspirative apartment, which the secret police were able then to watch.

* * *

THE POLISH SECRET POLICE—THE DEFENZIVA

The methods of provocation and espionage resorted to by the Gestapo and Ovra are not unknown to the Polish secret police—the *Defenziva*. For almost twenty years the Polish "Defo" has been trying by all means to demoralize the revolutionary organizations of Poland, to crush the courageous fighters of the working class—the Polish Communists. Hundreds of provocateurs, under different guises, have penetrated into the ranks of the Polish Communist Party in order to betray people loyal to the working class cause, to get into the U.S.S.R. as political emigrants and there carry on spying and diversionist work. In addition the Polish "Defo" has made wide use of the method of discrediting honest Communists, in order to spread suspicions about them and crush the revolutionary organizations. Here are some examples:

I.

An active Communist was arrested in a certain district; he was cruelly tortured and told to give away his comrades and enter the service of the "Defo."

The comrade courageously suffered the torture, and made no surrender to the enemy; then the "Defo," losing hope of making him an agent, discredited him in the eyes of his Party organization by spreading persistent rumors that he was a "Defo" agent.

In its efforts to compromise another popular Communist, the "Defo" planted a receipt, faked by themselves, for money allegedly received by the comrade from the "Defo," in the office of the local trade union.

II.

In the little town of B. the "Defo" marked down as their victims three Communist railwaymen who enjoyed the confidence of the working people of the locality. Not hoping to break down the will of these people by threats, the "Defo" instructed its own obvious spies, who were known by all in the town as serving in that abominable institution, to approach these railwaymen on crowded streets, to greet them profusely like good acquaintances, and even to visit them in their homes, in such a way that everybody could see and then spread rumors that the railwaymen had entered the service of the "Defo."

The local Party organization indicated failed to see through the insidious designs of the enemy, and made the mistake of declaring these honest comrades to be "Defo" agents. As a result there was great confusion among the railwaymen of the district: "If people like that," it was said, "turn out to be provocateurs, then we can't trust anybody."

The insidious designs of the secret police were on this occasion successful.

It can be seen from the examples given above how serious today for all Communists, for all anti-fascists, is the task of raising revolutionary vigilance, how serious is the task of combatting the "idiotic disease of complacency." (Stalin.)

The sooner all sections of the Communist International, anti-fascists of the whole world, make themselves acquainted with the insidious methods of the enemy, the sooner will they be able to unmask the provocateurs, spies and assassins sent by fascist intelligence services into anti-fascist organizations and the land of socialism, the U.S.S.R., the sooner will they be able, with a firm hand, ruthlessly to purge their ranks of fascist-Trotskyite provocateurs and spies, enemies of the working class and of the whole of progressive mankind.

Provocateurs at Work

BY Y. SVENTSITSKI

A SHORT time ago a trial took place in Warsaw of eighteen people, the majority of them soldiers, accused of Communist agitation in the army. According to the press the chief witness for the prosecution was a certain Panitz, provocateur and spy, sent by the Polish secret police into the army as a rank-and-file soldier for the purpose of ferreting out soldiers sympathetic towards Communism. The *Gazeta Polska*, official organ of the Polish Pilsudski-ites, does not hesitate to relate how the spy and provocateur "Panitz brought large quantities of Communist leaflets to the barracks, distributed them among the soldiers, and reported those who read them."

It was revealed in court that Panitz himself drew up the provocative leaflets which *called upon the soldiers to kill their officers*. It was these leaflets that formed the chief material of the indictment. As for the accused soldiers themselves, the Polish secret police could find no other accusation against them than that they had criticized the state of affairs in the Polish army, complained of the officers and "praised the Soviet Union." But the odious and foul provocative work of the Polish "Defenziva"* was sufficient to have a sentence *totaling 115 years' hard labor* brought in against the soldiers who had fallen victims to this provocation and had only read the leaflets drawn up in the Secret Police Department and printed by the latter.

This trial differs little from a number of others which take place daily in Poland directed against workers, peasants, intellectuals and soldiers. It lifts the veil and displays the system of espionage and provocation with the aid of which the demoralized Pilsudski-ites are fighting against the growing wave of the revolutionary movement in Poland. It is known that Polish fascism which came to power under the slogan of "Sanatsia"* as a result of Pilsudski's May coup in 1926, has not only failed to solve the internal crisis eating at the vitals of post-war Poland, but has deepened it, rendered it more acute. Never in the history of Poland has corruption reached such monstrous dimensions as under the power of the Pilsudski-ites. Bribery, robbery, embezzlement have become the usual thing. The political leaders of the "Sanatsia" accuse each other of the foulest deeds. The struggle of the cliques in the ruling camp around the trough of state now takes the place of the struggle of political programs and parties. The ruling strata are rotting, and the stench is poisoning the political atmosphere in Poland.

Side by side with this "crisis at the top," there is deep and unceasing unrest among the masses. The workers are discontented as are the peasants, the small town people, and the oppressed national minorities. Incapable of coping with the mass dissatisfaction by means of terror, the ruling classes of

* Polish Secret Political Police.

* "Sanatsia" means the introduction of a healthy state of affairs. Hence the name of the Pilsudski group—"Sanatsia."

Poland resort to a widespread network of provocation for the struggle against the revolutionary movement.

From the outset of their state activities, the Pilsudski-ites who, prior to the formation of the Polish state, themselves constituted an espionage agency of the German-Austrian General Staff, resorted to the self-same method of espionage, spying and provocation towards all public and political organizations. They have in the past installed their agents in these organizations, and still do so; the task of these agents is to disorganize and smash every movement of opposition towards the status quo, to compromise such movement by means of numerous provocative acts.

There is every reason to believe that the Communist movement in Poland has also not escaped this provocative work. For years the Polish "Defenziva" installed its spies and provocateurs in the ranks of the Communist Party of Poland. By arresting honest Communists, supremely devoted to the cause of the working class, by systematic onslaughts on the leading bodies of the Communist Party of Poland, the "Defenziva" gradually advanced its agents closer and closer to the leadership of the Communist Party of Poland. Simultaneously, in order to create a certain authority in the Party organizations and among the working masses for their agents, the Polish secret police staged arrests of their spies and provocateurs who, while in jail, reported on the activities of the Communist Party of Poland, on the basis of the gossip of the political prisoners. After keeping these provocateurs in jail for a time, the "Defenziva" released them, arranging sensational escapes for them, or releasing them together with a group of honest Communists, thereby masking the foul, treacherous role of their spies

These spies, agents of the "Defenziva," carried on their wrecking, destructive work in various ways. They regularly betrayed Party organizations, dooming the best sons of the Polish working class to long years of imprisonment or hard labor; they systematically distorted the line of the Party in the attempt, on the instructions of the "Defenziva," to present the Polish Communist movement in such a politically ugly light as to shake the confidence of the masses in Communism, and as to enable the Polish "Defenziva" and Polish fascism to say that the Communist movement is alien to the Polish people. Hence, the fact that the agents-provocateurs put forward all kinds of "extreme slogans" like those imposed upon the soldiers of the Warsaw garrison by provocateur Panitz in calling upon them to murder their officers.

We know, for example, that provocateurs and spies of the Polish "Defenziva," who wormed their way into the Communist Party of Western Ukraine, did their utmost to impose upon the Communist Party of Western Ukraine the slogan: "Join Western Ukraine to Soviet Ukraine." And it was only the interference of the Communist International that put an end to this provocative game of the Pilsudski-ites.

It is also a known fact that, just as Panitz did, the first-class provocateur Zharski, on the instructions of the same "Defenziva," called upon the Polish soldiers from the floor of the Sejm to "shoot their officers." By "agitation" of this kind, the Pilsudski-ites strove to sharpen relations with the Land of Soviets, to wreck its peace policy, to disorganize the rapprochement between the peoples inhabiting Poland and the peoples of the great U.S.S.R. The provocateurs arrayed the distortions of the Party line, first in the garb of Trotskyism, then of Brandlerism, and sought to bring about an ideological and political break between the Communist Party of Poland and the Communist International and to subordinate the Communist Party of Poland to the criminal plans of the Pilsudski clique. It was only the boundless loyalty to the working class and the Communist International of thousands and thousands of Polish Communists that

frustrated the insidious plans of the Polish "Defenziva" and its agents.

A most important method resorted to by the Pilsudski clique in disorganizing the Communist movement was the incitement of factional struggle inside the Communist Party of Poland. The Polish "Defenziva" had its agents in both factions, both in the "majority" and in the "minority." And this explains why, during Pilsudski's May *coup d'etat* in 1926 the leaders of both factions did not take up an independent class attitude, but supported Pilsudski. Through its agents, the "Defenziva" tried to convert both factions into tools for its wrecking work. It made use of the factional struggle to promote new agents to the leadership of the Communist Party of Poland, as "hard and fast'" supporters of one faction or the other. At the same time it exerted all its energies to endow the most insignificant differences of opinion with such acuteness that they poisoned the internal life of the Communist Party of Poland and spoiled the mass political work of the Party. This was how the Pilsudski clique wanted to undermine the confidence of the workers in the Communist Party and at all costs to split it. And actually there were times when it seemed that the unity of the Party hung by a thread. For example, in the summer of 1928, the agents of the Pilsudski clique almost succeeded in splitting the Warsaw organization. The attempt broke down, however, thanks to the resolute action of the supreme international bodies, which opportunely sensed there the hand of the Polish "Defenziva."

In addition, leading members of both factions — "majority" and "minority," acting on the instructions of the "Defenziva," made a wide practice of deceiving the Communist International. They fabricated data regarding the state of the Party organizations, sent in inflated materials regarding mass movements, exaggerated the role of their respective factions in these movements, whereas actually these movements were led by honest rank-and-file Communists who were utterly sick and tired of the "factional" struggle staged by the "Defenziva."

One cannot but make mention here of the foul and insidious role played by the spying Trotskyite agents of fascism. The Polish "Defenziva" made wide use of these cast-offs. It is well known, for example, that besides printing the filthy book of the notorious secret agent Reguly, the Polish "Defenziva" printed Trotsky's books on its own presses and tried to distribute them gratis in the prisons among the prisoners, in order to demoralize the weaker ones among them and to draw them into its net. In addition, the "Defenziva" set up Trotskyite organizations made up of its spies, and recruited already existing Trotskyite groups into the service of the Pilsudski clique. This recruiting work was all the more easy for it in that the fascist political line of Trotskyism, both towards the U.S.S.R. and towards the world Communist movement, made ready-to-hand agencies of fascism out of these groups.

The work of the Polish Communists in conditions of severe illegality is no easy job when such a subtle system of provocation is in operation. This work is all the more difficult in that there are quite a number of former members of the Polish Socialist Party at work in the Polish "Defenziva" who have now found a haven in the Pilsudski camp, and who know the methods employed in underground work from their own past experience. But the Polish Communists would not be worthy sons of the Polish working class were they to retreat in face of these difficulties.

The Polish proletariat have written not a few glorious pages in the history of the revolutionary movement of Poland. They belong to the most heroic sections of the international working class movement. Their Dombrovsky battalions, both at Madrid and at Guadalajara in Spain, showed supreme examples of heroism and have written with letters of blood their loyalty to the cause of the working people and their devotion to

proletarian internationalism. And all the foul enemies and provocateurs in the world will not break the heroic spirit of the Polish working class, the leading force of the entire anti-fascist People's Front of Poland. The Communists know that the best antidote against the spying-provocative methods of the enemy is the mass proletarian and people's movement. Communists are now and will continue to be in the forefront at the most dangerous points of the struggle of the broad masses of the people of Poland against fascism, for liberty and peace, against provocateurs and the warmongers. The Communists enter all mass organizations where there are workers and peasants, even if the leadership of these mass organizations is in alien and hostile hands.

The Rise of the Strike Movement in France

BY T. ALVAREZ

THE refusal to operate the arbitration decision concerning wage increases, the campaign against attempts to regulate the employment and dismissal of workers, the campaign against the 40-hour week, etc., are everyday facts of the activities of the French employers who, at the end of 1937, began an offensive against the working class.

Hundreds of delegations of proletarians and working people generally have repeatedly informed the government and People's Front members of Parliament of the systematic pressure of the owners against the workers and of their resistance to social legislation. But the working people were fed with promises, endless negotiations, belated and often unjust arbitration decisions which, moreover, were not put into force.

The General Confederation of Labor put forward the following three demands:

1. Collective agreements to be signed ensuring a stable standard of living and regulating the conditions of labor and wages in factories.

2. Legislation to be introduced for the organized distribution of labor power, against arbitrary dismissals.

3. Arbitration to be organized capable of ensuring the rapid and complete regulation of conflicts.

At the same time it was pointed out that "the responsible trade union leaders will be unable to hold back the working masses if official and legal guarantees are not given in the near future on important basic questions."

Comrade Frachon, member of the Bureau of the General Confederation of Labor, wrote the following clear and unambiguous statement on this point:

"We have said and repeat that the working class has no intention of tolerating endlessly repeated attacks. We have said and repeat that those who regard our calmness as weakness will be bitterly disappointed. We do not want a struggle, but where we are forced into one, we shall conduct it with the necessary firmness."

Nevertheless the lawful rights of the working class are systematically violated by the employers, thus leading to social conflicts.

At the beginning of December, 1937, food workers and employees of the Goodrich works went on strike. The cause of the strikes was the refusal of the employers to observe obligations undertaken and the decisions of the arbitration commission, and even the refusal to renew collective agreements.

The workers' delegates tried every means to arrive at agreement and only when their efforts failed to achieve success did the workers with the cognizance of their trade union organizations occupy the enterprises.

The authorities not only brought no pressure to bear on the employers but, on the contrary, called in the police in the attempt to drive the workers by force out of the factories occupied.

The working people of Paris could not remain indifferent in face of such facts. In response to the alarm spread by the workers of the Goodrich plant, several tens of thousands of workers ran in from neighboring metallurgical and

chemical plants and surrounded the Goodrich plant, refusing admission to the police.

After a workers' delegation had visited Chautemps, and faced with the solidarity of tens of thousands of Paris workers, the government was forced to intervene in the conflict and proposed to the employers that they close down until January 3, and to the strikers that they evacuate the plant before the solution of the conflict.

On December 23, the chauffeurs of private-owned food transport companies joined the striking workers and office employees of the food industries. Huge quantities of foodstuffs piled up at the various stations in Paris. The Police Department of Paris resorted to an act of strike-breaking by mobilizing 100 army lorries to transport the goods to the market. The food was unloaded under the protection of the gendarmerie.

The interference of the police who tried to free premises occupied by the strikers, the use of army transport to replace the vehicles of the privately owned transport companies whose workers were on strike, caused general indignation among the workers throughout the country.

The Paris regional council of the C.G.T. unions, in its protest resolution on the subject, stressed the point that the forcible clearing of the factory's premises occupied by strikers would inevitably lead to solidarity action by the workers of all other enterprises, as was the case at the Goodrich works.

The Communist and Socialist organizations and the trade union of the Citroen works and a number of other undertakings sent telegrams of protest to Chautemps, President of the Council of Ministers. The unity committee of the Communist and Socialist Party organizations of Clichy (Paris district) in its resolution stressed the unanimous desire of the working people of France to realize the program of the People's Front and to prepare the conditions for the creation of a future government in which there would participate all the parties belonging to the People's Front.

Comrade Frachon, expressing the opinion of the five million members of the General Confederation of Labor, wrote in *l'Humanite* of December 31, 1937:

"For several months the Bureau of the C.G.T. has been warning Ministers of what is taking place in the working class, and indicating the measures to be undertaken. . . .

"No, the People's Front was not established in order to use force against the working people. To place army lorries at the disposal of the private transport companies in order to break a strike is not carrying out the program of the People's Front. . . . Only enemies inside and outside the country are interested in that. The 'Hooded Men' are far from having been disarmed. They have not all been arrested, and will rejoice at the army being used against the people. Never for a single moment in their history have the workers' unions permitted the use of soldiers to replace strikers."

On December 29, 1937, a general strike of municipal workers broke out in Paris and throughout the departments of the Seine region. The workers and employees of the underground railway, the motor services, electrical power stations, waterworks, gas companies, etc., all went on strike. The trade unions permitted work in only a few enterprises so as to provide the homes of the Paris population with light, heating and water.

The strike was the result of the rejection of the demands of the workers and employees for increased wages. According to a government order all state employees should have received an increase of 100 francs in their salaries.

In spite of this, the Prefect of the Seine made a proposal for a wage increase for municipal workers and office employees of only 50 francs a month, a proposal accepted by the reactionary majority of the Paris Town Council on December 28, 1937. This was downright provocation since both the Socialist Dormois, Minister of Home Affairs, and

also the Prefect of the Seine, had been given timely warning of the inadmissibility of such conditions.

On December 29, an urgent meeting of the Government took place after the strike had been declared. Chautemps, Daladier, Dormois, Leon Blum and Paul Faure were present and when it was over the President of the Council of Ministers made the following statement:

"The situation created by the municipal workers' strike is serious, but the government intends to act resolutely. On no account will it permit a stoppage in the work of vital national services. . . . Everybody must know that the government will fulfil its duty and, whatever the resistance, will ensure that work is renewed and social order maintained."

This was a direct threat to use armed force against the strikers. It was not for nothing that the reactionary bourgeois press of all shades so warmly welcomed the government communique, and tried all means possible to make the strike appear to be a political act, a strike of solidarity of the municipal workers with the road transport strikers as an act against the government as a whole.

And in asserting this, it tried to base itself upon the incorrect attitude of *Le Populaire*, central organ of the Socialist Party, which in its issue of December 29, wrote the following concerning the strike:

"We must declare that we consider as unacceptable the method applied in the given case by responsible comrades from the inter-union committee. Actually the order for the strike was given at a time when the trade union leaders were conferring with Marx Dormois. Thus, the Minister of Home Affairs who engaged in negotiations with them was confronted by the end of the conversation with an accomplished fact. This can only hinder his reconciliatory mission between the working people and the municipal and general councils. . . .

"No campaign was conducted to explain the municipal workers' demands to the public. We are very much afraid that a strike declared under such conditions will not find justification among the population and may harm the trade union movement as a whole."

Such kind of news in the Socialist press did not, to say the least, correspond to the real situation.

At a meeting attended by four thousand delegates of the striking municipal workers, Pomier, General Secretary of the inter-union municipal workers' committee, declared quite clearly that the strike was declared after the results of the negotiations between the workers' representatives and Dormois had become known, that it was not a political strike, for the municipal workers were defending their bread; and that the big French bourgeois papers like *Temps*, the *Bulletin Quotidien* and others were deeply mistaken in their dreams of a split in the People's Front and in seeing the beginning of such a split in the fact that the Communist Party was supporting the strike, for the working class had no intention of asking for alms and in defending their demands were also defending the People's Front.

The Communist Party of France was the only party to support the strikers from the very outset. In its appeal regarding the municipal workers' strike, the Secretariat of the Communist Party wrote:

"The Secretariat of the Communist Party sends fraternal greetings to, and expresses its complete solidarity with, the municipal workers of Paris who by their disciplined action have won an important victory in obtaining increased wages.

"The municipal workers and employees acted rightly in refusing to accept the decision which the reactionary majority of the Paris Municipal Council, along with the Prefect of the Seine Department, wanted to impose upon them.

"The Secretariat of the Communist Party indignantly protests the government's declaration directed against the municipal workers and employees. The energies of the government should have been directed against the fascist plotters, against the organizers of civil war in France who are acting in the interests

and with the money of the bloc of fascist countries, and not at all against the working people fighting in defense of their bread and the bread of their children.

"The Secretariat of the Communist Party which strives in all circumstances to defend the interests of the working people also protests against the use of army lorries to replace private transport vehicles affected by the strike."

On December 30, the municipal workers and employees renewed work, having obtained the complete satisfaction of their demands, the rapid fulfilment of which members of the government undertook to guarantee.

Despite the fact that the employers and owners of food warehouses, of motor-lorry transport companies and a number of other branches of industry provoked a continuation of the strike by their adamant position, the workers in a number of places won a victory.

Some wage increases were obtained by the chemical workers of the Paris region. The wages of workers in the large-scale chemical industries have been increased by 9 per cent, the difference to be paid as from December 1, 1937. The workers of the rubber industry have had their wages increased by 9 per cent also, as from January 1, etc.

The municipal workers' strike was an expression of the just dissatisfaction felt throughout the whole of the working class. It showed up the maneuvers of reaction which, under cover of fighting against Communism, is attempting to intensify its campaign to split the People's Front. The energetic action of the working masses reminded Socialists and Radicals of the danger of their position of concessions to big finance capital.

A New Attack on the Communist Party of Switzerland

BY K. MAYER

FOR a year now, the Swiss reactionaries, acting on orders from the fascists of Berlin and Rome and supported by the Swiss federal government, have been spreading constant slander against the Communist Party, demanding that it be prohibited. Of late, the reactionaries have hurled themselves with new force upon the Communist Party of Switzerland. In the beginning of November, almost all the members of the Political Bureau (Comrades Humbert Droz, Bodenman, Krebs, Stirner and a number of other Party workers) were arrested and brought before a military court on the charge of recruiting volunteers for Spain. Simultaneously a number of raids were made on the homes of other members of the Communist Party and several Social-Democrats, as well as on the editorial office of the *Freiheit*, the central organ of the Communist Party of Switzerland.

After three weeks of preliminary investigation, the authorities were unable to adduce any convincing proofs to justify the avalanche of raids conducted on such a broad scale. Nothing but miserable forgeries, like a forged protocol concerning the recruitment of volunteers, was produced against the accused. Even the bourgeois-democratic press was compelled to recognize that it was a case of scandalous violation of freedom of organization and the press.

What inspired the reactionaries to this new demonstration of force? The wave of arrests began with the signing in Rome of the anti-Comintern agreement, not long before the opening of the December session of the Swiss parliament, when the demand was raised throughout the country for the resignation of Motte, the reactionary Minister for Foreign Affairs, who was conducting a policy friendly towards fascism. As the Basle *National Zeitung* even hinted, the arrests were undertaken for the purpose of distracting the attention of the public from the voting of the bill for the dissolution of freemasons' organizations. The bill for the dissolution of these organizations was brought forward by the Swiss fascists who are under the influence of the Berlin Propaganda Ministry. It was invented as the prelude to the complete abolition of freedom of organization. After this there was to follow the bill put forward by the Federal Council last year for the prohibition of the Communist Party throughout Switzerland, a bill which had to be withdrawn last summer under the pressure of the democratic opposition. The reasons for the recent repressions become perfectly clear in the light of this "plan." It was the *Vaterland*, the central organ of the Catholic Conservative Party, and close to the federal government, that gave the game away about the existence of such a plan, when it stated:

"In connection with the cantonal legislation, in operation or in course of preparation, for the prohibition of the Communist Party, the question arises of their further extension. It is very difficult or

quite impossible to prohibit the Communist Party in separate cantons. To achieve the prohibition of a political organization, legislation would have to be passed covering the whole of Switzerland."

A year after the first failure of the campaign to dissolve the Communist Party, the reactionaries changed their tactics and in two cantons—Neuenburg and Geneva—put through legislation against the Communist Party by means of a plebiscite held in circumstances of unrestrained repression and calumny. In the third canton—Switz—where there are no Communist Party organizations at all, parliament passed a similar decision a little later. At the end of January, 1938, a similar bill was put to the vote in the Vaud canton. Despite the furious slander against the Communists designed first and foremost to divert the discontent of the mass of workers and peasants away from the reactionary policy of the government, it has not proved possible to get this law put through on a national scale. On the contrary, the lack of faith in everything that comes from Berne is stronger than hitherto in the country.

Particularly in German Switzerland is there to be observed a powerful growth of the democratic forces protesting against the Hitlerite slander of the Communists. Wide sections of the public are beginning to understand that this struggle is directed not only against the Communist Party but against all the democratic rights of the people. This is why the reactionaries now fear a defeat in the Zurich canton. In October, reactionary circles of the "free-thinkers" and the Catholic party, as well as the "Peasant Alliance" in collaboration with outright fascists, conducted a campaign for the anti-Communist law. But they were only able, in four weeks, to collect 9,000 electors' signatures out of the 180,000 population forming the Zurich electorate. After this defeat of the out-and-out reactionaries, the struggle was joined by the food concern of the big capitalist Dutweiler which tried to mobilize its consumers to form a political party. This concern brought forward an "anti-treason" bill, allegedly against people in receipt of instructions and material support from abroad. In the course of a few days 48,000 signatures were collected in response to this "initiative," * but there is no doubt that many working class electors gave their signatures in the hope that this Dutweiler bill was directed first and foremost against the fascists. This hope is totally unfounded under present reactionary justice in Switzerland. The whole of the reactionary legislation is directed towards the struggle against the Communists and anti-fascists.

The new attempt of the reactionaries to secure the banning of the Communist Party—this time under the pretext of prosecuting the recruitment of volunteers to the International Brigades in Spain—meets with no response among the working masses. The workers and many bourgeois-democratic elements in Switzerland sympathize with Republican Spain even more strongly today than at the beginning of the military-fascist rebellion. The unswerving sympathy of the Swiss people towards the Spanish republic, strengthened still more by the manifesto of the Communist Party of Switzerland issued in connection with the arrests and with the exposure of forgeries and spying intrigues, has to a considerable degree already smashed the new plans of the reactionaries. Even the Left-bourgeois, Social-Democratic newspapers and trade unions are demanding an end to the persecution of the Communist Party.

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of Switzerland publicly unmasked the anti-Constitutional action of the Swiss Court, its connections with individuals in receipt of bribes, the close connections of the chief of the Swiss police with prominent National-Socialists, the aim of his journey to Berlin, etc. Both the police and the court are up against the wall and say nothing.

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* This is how a bill, supported by the signatures of the electors, is referred to.

In its manifesto of November 22, the Central Committee says:

"The Communist Party of Switzerland considers that the decision of the Federal Council of August 25, 1936, concerning the prohibition of all aid to Spain contradicts the principles of Swiss democracy and encroaches on the rights of the lawful Spanish government, and is at the same time support for the fascist powers that have attacked Spain.

"The Communist Party calls upon the democratically-minded Swiss people to conduct a most resolute struggle for the reversal of the unconstitutional decisions of the federal government on the Spanish question, for an alteration in the policy of the Federal Council and for increased solidarity with the Spanish Republic. On the other hand, the Communist Party resolutely rejects the unfounded accusations put forward with a view to banning it. The Party places on record that all these accusations *are directed not only against the Communist Party, but also against Swiss democracy as a whole.* The banning of the Communist Party is intended to facilitate the destruction of democracy and to clear the way for the realization of the dictatorial plans of the reactionaries. The Communist Party calls on the Swiss proletariat and all democrats to make a determined protest against this attack on democracy, and by joint action, to defend liberty, law and democracy against violation, license and terror."

The hopes held by the fascists that they would be able, by prohibiting the freemasons' organizations, to deliver a new blow against the democratic rights of the people, were blown to the winds after the vote of the working masses on November 28. The "initiative" of the fascists was rejected by 513,553 votes against 232,466. Although the underground freemasons' organizations are hateful to the working people, the masses did not allow themselves to be fooled by fascist demagogy and took up the defense of the freedom of democratic organizations. This decision is important for the further struggle against the anti-democratic law directed against Communists. The struggle in the Zurich canton will be the threshold for a counter-attack of the democratic forces against the reactionaries.

The Strike Struggle in India

BY L. BURNS

IN THE year 1936 and particularly 1937 in India there was a marked rise in the strike struggle of the workers. During the first quarter of 1937 alone, 89 strikes were registered covering 148,000 workers with 2,767,000 working days lost. The second quarter shows still higher figures, *viz.*, 138 strikes, 290,000 workers involved and 3,549,000 working days lost.* Each quarter of the year 1937 shows indices for the strike struggle higher than for the whole of 1935 and even 1936!

The increased activity of the working masses is also confirmed by a number of characteristic features of the strike struggles of the last two years.

First of all a tendency is to be observed of the passage from small, scattered action to big, mass strikes. In the year 1937 big struggles were conducted in India like the general strike of the railwaymen of the Bengal-Nagpur railway, covering about 60,000 workers, the strike of 225,000 workers of the Bengal jute factories—the biggest strike in the history of the working class movement of India, the general strike of the Cawnpore textile workers which involved 40,000 workers, the general strike of 10,000 textile workers of Coimbatore (Madras province), the strike of 40,000 Ahmedabad textile workers, which developed into a general strike of the workers of the second largest cotton textil center of India.

The textile workers of Bombay—the foremost unit of the working class of India—at a mass meeting in November, 1937, decided to declare a general strike in January, 1938, if by that time their most urgent demands, including the demand for increased wages, were not satisfied. A number of meetings of railwaymen (in India there are over 700,000 railwaymen) and workers of the Jaria mining region are also demanding a general strike.

The growth of big mass strikes is taking place on the background of a general revival of the strike struggle and the involving of ever greater numbers of the hitherto backward sections of the working class in the strike struggle. Backward provinces like Madras and Assam are coming forward, where until quite recently reactionary leaders opposed to strikes had almost a complete monopoly. More and more frequently strikes break out in small branches of industry and even among the handicraftsmen; many of these are for the first time resorting to strike action as a method of struggle against the employers.

The strike movement is also developing in the native states where labor legislation is almost absent and the workers are subjected to the most cruel exploitation. The *Bombay Chronicle* of March 1, 1937, in connection with the textile workers' strike in Rajkot state gives something of an idea of how the workers live, work and fight in the native states. According to a report in this paper there is absolutely no labor legislation whatsoever in Rajkot. The working day is regulated as the employer thinks fit and

* The figures given are from official statistics, and include only strikes in British India, and not those in the native states.

usually lasts for 14½ hours. The workers, including women and children, work up to 12 o'clock at night. When the workers announced a struggle against these inhuman conditions, and in the process of the struggle formed their own trade union, the employers demanded that they immediately break off all connections with the union, while the authorities ordered workers refusing to fulfil this demand to leave the confines of the state within twenty-four hours. And it is these workers, deprived of the most elementary human rights and subjected to the most merciless, unrestricted exploitation equal to nothing but slavery, who are more and more frequently undertaking the struggle. During the last few months alone, workers have been on strike in the native states of Rajkot, Indore, Bhavanagara, Mysore, Hyderabad, Cochin and others.

It is characteristic that during the strikes of the textile workers in Gokah Falls, even the workers' children took an active part in the strikers' demonstrations and demonstratively went to school with red badges on their breasts. The correspondent of *Bombay Chronicle* reporting this said: "It is indeed a splendid sight to see how the children—future workers—are learning the art of organization and struggle."

A number of strikes during the recent period are increasingly displaying *a desire for united action and the growing solidarity of the working class.* The very fact of the great number of general strikes points above all to this. The strike of the Bengal jute workers mentioned above began without any preliminary preparations, and at first only covered 5,000 workers employed in one factory. Quickly and spontaneously the strike grew and spread to the overwhelming majority of the jute factories in the country. As a mark of solidarity with the jute workers 15,000 workers of other branches of industry: engineers, flour-milling and municipal workers, etc., also went on strike.

Every more or less big strike in India meets with a wide response from the workers throughout the country, expressed in numerous solidarity meetings, in the formation of aid committees, in the collection of money, etc. On May 1, which was celebrated in a large number of working class centers in 1937, there were two main slogans: solidarity with the Spanish people in their struggle against fascist rebels and interventionists, and support for the jute workers then on strike.

One of the distinguishing features of the strikes of the last two years is the exceptional *tenacity of the strikers.* Strikes have probably never before been conducted with such tenacity as at the present time. Not to mention big battles like the three months' strike of the Bengal jute workers and the two months' general strike of the Bengal-Nagpur railway, a large number of smaller strikes, even in the more distant centers and in the small branches of industry are also distinguished for their length and tenacity. For example, the match workers' strike in Ambernats, the textile workers' strike in Gokah Falls, the Bengal navigation workers' strike each lasted five months and more! Strikes lasting for two and three months have now become an almost regular phenomenon in India. This is extremely significant if we take account of the miserable colonial level of the Indian workers' wages, their extreme want and poor organization.

Speaking of the tenacity in struggle of the striking workers of Ambernats and their families, Goawari Gokhal, a philanthropist, writes in the *Bombay Chronicle:*

"The overwhelming majority of the women sold or pawned everything they had, even their cheap jewelry and knicknacks. Many of them were forced to part with their miserable domestic utensils and crockery. Others went to the extreme of selling or pawning even their clothing in order to save their children from hunger. For many families with four to six children, it is a life and death question. Nevertheless, despite their cruel sufferings, the workers are firmly

convinced of the success of the struggle. I saw grim determination on their faces. although their homes present a picture of suffering and hopeless want."

Witness of the growing activity of the workers is also to be found in the fact that in India the workers are beginning on a wide scale to make use of *new forms of struggle*, especially of what is known as the "stay-in strike." During the last few months, "stay-in strikes" took place in Madras, Cawnpore, Gokah Falls, Rajnandhaon and other centers. The most typical of them is without a doubt the strike in Pondicherry, French India, which was, so to speak, the forerunner of a whole number of "stay-in strikes" that followed later. About a year ago 10,000 Pondicherry textile workers declared a general strike for better working conditions and the right to organize trade unions.

Having declared the strike and put forward leaders from their own number, the workers seized the factory premises and kept the senior administrative personnel as hostages. The workers categorically declared to the governor who negotiated with them that they would not clear the premises or release the hostages until their demands were fully satisfied. The authorities tried to starve out the workers by not letting food through to the factory, but this also affected the food of the hostages, and so these measures had to be dropped.

Finally the authorities decided to use force to seize the premises occupied by the workers. The whole district around the factory was surrounded by troops and police, who made an organized attack on the workers installed in the factories. The workers decided not to surrender. They courageously defended themselves with stones, bits of iron, etc. A real fight took place and, as a result, the workers were severely dealt with, 20 workers being killed and over 400 wounded. Finally the workers were driven out of the factory buildings. While retreating they burned down one factory. It is characteristic that soon after the events above described (July, 1937), a "stay-in strike" broke out again in one of the Pondicherry factories and has already lasted six months!

The shooting of the Pondicherry workers gave rise to a tremendous wave of protest throughout India. The "stay-in strike" and the heroic struggle of the workers drew the attention of the public to the disfranchisement and unrestrained exploitation of the workers in Pondicherry. As a result the French People's Front government had to sanction a number of legislative measures, regulating the labor of workers in French India. The Indian government, however, scared by the Pondicherry strike and the solidarity actions in British India, adopted a number of special legislative measures against "stay-in strikes."

A very important new feature, which gives a particularly clear illustration of the way the working masses of India are awakening to activity, is the exceptionally great *increase in the number of strikes for increased wages as well as for shorter hours, for recognition of the trade unions by the employers and the abolition of various pre-capitalist forms of exploitation* (the system of Sirdar middlemen, tremendous fines, etc.), widely cultivated by imperialism and by the employers in Indian enterprises. The number of strikes for increased wages is particularly great. According to the Indian press, over 50 per cent of the total number of strikes in the year 1936 were for increased wages. In 1937 the number of strikes for increased wages increased still more.

The growing activity and tenacity of the workers have resulted in a considerably higher percentage of *successful strikes*. In 1936 and 1937 approximately 50 per cent of the total number of strikes ended in complete or partial victory for the workers, for India an unprecedented figure!

These figures are all the more characteristic in that the workers have to fight for even the most elementary economic demands in conditions of the most barefaced terror and cruel repression. We have already mentioned the mass shoot-

ing of Pondicherry strikers. During the Bengal jute workers' strike (February-April, 1937), the police twice fired on the workers. During the course of the strike 106 strikers and their leaders were arrested and sentenced to various terms of imprisonment. The police also fired at workers during the strike taking place in Ahmedabad (December, 1937).

Acts of repression against strikes also continue to take place in the provinces where the so-called Congress governments have been set up according to the new Constitution. Contrary to the National Congress election manifesto, the Congress governments in a number of cases (*e.g.*, Ahmedabad) employ against strikes the very repressive laws the abolition of which had been demanded by Congress. The Congress governments try to retard the workers' struggle by sowing illusions about the strike struggle being unnecessary now that the Congress governments are in power; they call upon the workers to maintain peace in industry and promise to secure improvements in the workers' lives by peaceful, constitutional means and negotiations with the employers.

The discontent of Left circles of the Labor and National movements also arose from the following. The Congress governments, which immediately upon their formation released imprisoned Congressists and removed the prohibition against all banned Congress organizations, did not adopt similar measures towards banned Left working class organizations and Left labor leaders, chiefly Communists, thus emphasizing the difference between supporters of "non-violence" and those arrested "for resorting to violence." It was only as a result of the strong pressure of public opinion that the Bombay government has recently lifted the ban on certain Left working class organizations (The Workers' Youth League, Marxian League, and so on), and released a number of Communists. Some organizations, including the National Congress Socialist Party, are demanding that the ban be also lifted from the Communist Party, which is carrying on the struggle deep underground. Recently public defense committees have been set up in Bombay and Calcutta in connection with the trials of Communists and for the purpose of developing a campaign to release imprisoned Communists.

There is a wide response in the working class circles of India to the events in Spain and China. Committees of Aid for Republican Spain based on the united front have been set up in a number of centers. In these committees the trade unions play an active role. Everywhere at workers' and strikers' meetings, resolutions are passed expressing solidarity with the struggle of the Spanish people against the fascist rebels and interventionists, and with the struggle of the Chinese people against the Japanese aggressors. Money collections are taken.

The celebration of May Day, and of the anniversary of the great October Revolution are taking on an increasingly wider mass character in India; the anniversary of Lenin's death is marked by mass open-air and indoor meetings. The twentieth anniversary of the great October Socialist Revolution was celebrated on a particularly broad scale. In a number of towns mass united front meetings took place, while some working class newspapers issued special numbers devoted to the achievements of the Soviet Union in the course of 20 years; exhibitions of Soviet posters were organized in a number of towns.

The role of the working class of India in the national-liberation struggle is growing; the working masses and their organizations are beginning to display initiative and activity in setting up the united national-liberation fighting front.

In this connection attention should be drawn to the conference shortly to be held of representatives of various Left-wing organizations including the Trade Union Congress, National Congress Socialist Party, the All-India Peasant Committee, the Student Federation, etc. This conference is being called together by the Trade Union Congress with a view to drawing up a program of united action.

These organizations are conducting a wide campaign for collective affiliation to the National Congress. This would strengthen the position of the Left wing of the National Congress and encourage its early conversion into a genuine organ of anti-imperialist struggle. The forces of the Left wing are rallying despite the huge obstacles in the way. The group of the renegade Roy, whose whole policy aims at weakening the position of the Left wing and maintaining a leading role in the National Congress for the Right, bourgeois wing, which compromises with imperialism, is seriously injuring the work of rallying the Left wing.

* * *

While noting an increase in the activity of the mass of workers and the growth of the strike struggle in India, we must not at the same time fail to note the great weaknesses in this struggle. The basic weakness of the movement at the given stage is the great gulf between the growing activity of the masses, on the one hand, and the disunity and weakness of the trade union organizations on the other. The Indian trade union movement is still split. Side by side with the Left trade union centers—the All-India Trade Union Congress, there is a parallel trade union center in India—the National Federation of Trade Unions, headed by reactionary elements who sabotage all efforts to bring about trade union unity and do everything possible to hinder the national-liberation mass movement.

The struggle is also retarded by the weakness of the trade unions connected with the Left trade union center—the Trade Union Congress. The majority of these unions still have less than 1,000 members each. The Left trade unions, striving for unity with the Federation, do not pay proper attention in the course of each strike to getting united action and trade union unity in respect to the separate union centers. Time and time again they themselves stand aside from the strikes led by the Right unions (the strike on the Bengal-Nagpur railway).

The intensity of the struggle against imperialism in India is increasing, the strike struggle of the workers for their direct needs and demands is growing, and the greater the resolution with which the weaknesses of the trade union movement are lived down, and first and foremost the sooner the split in the workers' ranks is overcome, the sooner will the trade unions become mass organizations, genuine organs of class struggle, the sooner will they obtain successes both in the economic and political struggle of the working class.

Long Live Our Mighty People's Army!

Greetings of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Spain on the Taking of Teruel

SPAIN rejoices! Our fighters, the victors of Belchite, Brunete, Guadalajara, have occupied Teruel, one of the strongest positions of the enemy. They have returned this town to the republic.

Our fighters, with unprecedented courage and determination, entered Teruel, a town protected by high mountains, covered with deep snow which hindered the movement of troops. The taking of Teruel is a crushing blow against the fascists.

From the bottom of their hearts, Spaniards who love the freedom and independence of Spain gave vent to cries of delight, to greetings in honor of our fighters, of our glorious army which is returning to Spain its lost liberty.

The seizure of the North gave the enemy hopes and made them confident of the possibility of rapidly seizing the whole of Spain, convinced them that the republican army was crushed, demoralized. The fascists got the reply they deserved. Our courageous fighters seized the beast in its own lair and settled accounts with it.

Henceforth Teruel belongs to Spain, to the republic; the population of Teruel will learn the meaning of democracy, liberty! Today fascism has been dealt a blow; tomorrow it will be vanquished once and for all. And from the heights of the majestic aqueduct, from the towers of San Martin, the fighters of the people's army declare to the world that, as in the conquered province of Aragona, they will draw the towns and villages still enslaved by fascism into the progressive life of new Spain.

Our fighters are tenacious, and conquered despite snowdrifts and ice-fields. despite the furious counter-attacks of the enemy and the systematic attacks of the black airfleet.

Spain is proud, it is full of smiles and hopes, for it knows its sons; it awaits new victories soon.

To the men of the Republican army, the Commissars who inspire our army, the commanders and officers, the incomparable tank men, the self-sacrificing airmen, the courageous motor-drivers, the valiant dynamite throwers, the expert artillerymen, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Spain sends its fraternal revolutionary greetings.

It is you, sons of Spain, who never flinch at the thunder of battle, at suffering and sacrifice, at streams of noble human blood, it is you, ardently though you love life, who sacrifice it without hesitation for the sake of the peace and freedom of the peoples, who set a splendid example of courage and heroism to the anti-fascists of the whole world.

It is you, brothers of ours, who are the pride and glory of the Spanish people.

The Teruel victory has once more emphasized the correctness of the line of our Party. For it fought against the lack of faith and doubts of many and held high the banner of a regular, disciplined people's army conscious of its great historic duty, capable of accomplishing the glorious work of crushing Franco and his allies, capable of restoring the Spanish Republic now becoming the true republic of the working people, and of freeing the people languishing under the disgraceful yoke of fascism.

Forward, army of the people! Traced by your bayonets, the road to victory looms clear of our horizon.

Forward! Against the fascist aggressors who want to convert Spain into a foreign colony!

For the independence of our people!

For those who have fallen in battle, for the martyrs killed by the fascists, for the children of Spain, for the peasants who are demanding bread and justice from tortured Spain, for our workers, for our women, for all of them—forward, fighters of the people's army!

Long live the people's army!

Long live the People's Front, the guarantee of the triumph of the Spanish Republic!

THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF SPAIN.

Frente Rojo, December 24, 1937

Close Up the Ranks of the People's Front to Crush Franco!

Resolution of the Plenum of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Spain

THE Plenum of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Spain, which took place on November 13-16, 1937, having heard the report and closing remarks of Comrade Jose Diaz, General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Party, resolves:

The report and closing remarks of Comrade Diaz to be regarded by all branches and all Party members as the basis for the general political line and practical work of the Party.

1. The Spanish people are undergoing a difficult period. After their offensive on the North, the rebel generals and fascist interventionists are preparing new operations in the attempt to break our resistance by means of a desperate offensive. At the same time open and covert enemies of the democratic republic, of our freedom and national independence, are doing everything possible to sow discord in our country.

At this time what is required of all the Spanish people is to concentrate their energies and exert them to the utmost in order to beat off the attacks of the enemy, to destroy their forces, rapidly and surely to achieve final victory. The Central Committee of the Communist Party considers that at the present moment the country possesses all the means necessary to resist the enemy and win victory. It is, however, necessary to strengthen the unity of the people by conducting a correct People's Front policy, to raise the enthusiasm, heroism and spirit of self-sacrifice of the masses of the people. The whole of republican Spain must become an invincible fortress. Madrid, Guadalajara, Belchite, show us the way. Repeat these heroic feats—such must be the way for all Spaniards filled with determination to put an end, rapidly once and for all, to fascism, to the foreign aggressors.

2. In reply to the maneuvers of the enemy (foreign and home) as expressed in the spreading of slanderous rumors about compromises with fascism and the foreign interventionists, and directed towards breaking the resistance and spirit of our people, the Communist Party, expressing the will of the working class and the whole of the people, declares through the lips of its general secretary:

"There can be no peace so long as a single foreign soldier remains on the soil of our fatherland.

"There can be no peace until all enemies, all those who are striving to establish a fascist regime in Spain, have been crushed once and for all.

"No compromise is possible either with generals who have betrayed their fatherland or with the foreign aggressors.

"Our slogan is: Drive out the interventionists, wipe out Franco, destroy fascism in our country once and for all."

The Communist Party declares that it will fight with all its might against the treacherous gang that has set itself the task of demoralizing the people by spreading rumors of compromise and peace without victory.

3. The Central Committee of the Communist Party addresses an ardent appeal to the Communist and Socialist Parties, to trade unions and other working class organizations, to the democratic forces of Europe and the whole world, for unity to help Spain in its struggle for independence, for peace. Our people have already proved that they not only deserve victory, but that they are in a position to win it. It is the duty of the peoples of France, Britain, the United States, the duty of all who hate war, the duty of all to whom independence and freedom are dear, to prevent aid in any form whatsoever being rendered to Franco and to fight for the recognition of the international rights of the Spanish people.

We appeal in particular to the organizations of the working class, and declare that the international proletariat can render us tremendous aid by means of mass campaigns, strikes and the systematic boycott of the zone in the hands of the rebels.

4. While expressing its sincere confidence, supported by the Communist Party, as a whole, in the People's Front government, and while greeting the head of the government, Comrade Negrin, whose work has helped to improve the state of the country, the Central Committee of the Communist Party emphasizes the need for:

A. An energetic policy in the internal administration of the country;

B. A radical change in juridical policy;

C. Raising the spirit of our people's army, despite the efforts of the enemy to break it by provocation and intrigue.

The Central Committee asks the government to discuss the question of the possibility of forming a Ministry for War Industries to concentrate in its hands all the work of organizing and administering these industries and to ensure its rapid development with a view to satisfying the requirements of war.

5. At a time when the rebel generals are converting all the territory in their hands into a foreign policy colony in which the liberties of the people have been destroyed and the most savage terror reigns, it is essential to strengthen our republican and democratic system and to consolidate the People's Front government by strengthening its contacts with the masses and ensuring the participation on a wide scale of the whole of the people in the political life of the country.

6. The Central Committee notes with satisfaction the cordial political and business relations existing between the Communist Party and the Socialist Labor Party, and confirms its desire to continue along that road until the fusion of the two political parties of the proletariat into a united party of the working class of Spain is achieved. The policy of unity between Socialists and Communists will accelerate the process of the general unification of the Spanish working class movement and deliver a blow at all attempts to split the anti-fascist forces.

The Central Committee of the Party indignantly denounces the splitting work of the small Largo Caballero group. By its attacks on the unity of the U.G.T. (General Workers Union), by spreading slanderous rumors the only purpose of which is to sow dissension among anti-fascists, by its defeatist propaganda and equivocal attitude towards the People's Front government and its best representatives, this small group is becoming an agency of the enemy. The Communist Party asks all workers to offer resolute resistance to the splitting and disintegrating work of this group by defending the unity of the working class and anti-fascist organizations against all who try to disrupt it.

7. The Communist Party regards the establishment of a National People's Front Committee as a fact of a positive character and is doing everything necessary to enable this first step to be followed by other more resolute and energetic steps towards the organization of People's Front committees throughout the country. These committees will unite all the anti-fascist forces and help the government to solve the tasks of the war and the revolution.

The Party considers it especially neces-

sary today for the C.N.T. (National Confederation of Labor) and the U.G.T. to be included in the People's Front. It will make every effort to persuade its allies and friends of the need for this, and overcome obstacles and prejudices still hindering the realization of complete unity of the Spanish anti-fascist movement.

8. The Plenum of the Central Committee once more confirms the point that the policy of the Communist Party of Spain at the present time can only be the firm and consistent policy of the People's Front. It calls upon all Party organizations to make a critical examination of their activities so as to eliminate all errors, hesitations and all weaknesses whatsoever in the conduct of this policy. This means, as Comrade Diaz said in his report, that:

"The Party must constantly maintain the closest ties with the masses, must be the most energetic defender of their interests and the common interests of the whole of the people in their struggle against fascism and foreign invasion.

"The Party must do nothing capable of hindering the unity of all anti-fascist forces; it must be the best champion of the ever-closer consolidation of these forces."

To achieve these aims it is necessary that the Party units pay far more attention to trade union work, to organizing close contacts with the masses, with the Socialist Party, with the Republican Party, with the Anarchist masses and with all who still stand aloof from the political and trade union movement.

9. All Party units, all Party members must with the maximum rapidity carry the decisions of the Plenum into life, after organizing a wide discussion of them by all members, and draw the attention of all anti-fascists to these decisions.

The Plenum of the Central Committee has revealed how tremendous is the political and organizational strength of the Communist Party. The unity of the Party is the best guarantee of the fulfilment of its policy which is the policy of the masses, of the anti-fascist people. For the unity of the Party to be invincible what is required is that the maximum vigilance be observed in its ranks, thus rendering it possible to guarantee its organizational integrity and political indivisibility.

We are deeply convinced that the line of our Party, being a correct one, corresponds to the present situation, and expresses the will and interests of the whole of the Spanish people. Hence all Communists must work with the greatest enthusiasm to fulfil the decisions of the Party. This will lead to early victory over fascism and guarantee a happy life to our people.

Program of Struggle Against Japanese Imperialism for the Salvation of China

THE following is the Program of Action of the Communist Party of China, published in the central organ of the Communist Party of China, *Hai Fan*:

I. The struggle for the overthrow of Japanese imperialism.

Rupture of relations with Japan, expulsion from China of Japanese officials, arrest of Japanese spies, confiscation of the property of Japanese imperialists in China, annulment of Japanese debts, cancellation of agreements concluded with Japan, return of Japanese concessions to China.

A fight to a finish in defense of North China and the coastal regions.

A fight to a finish for the return of the Peiping-Tientsin region and the Northeast provinces occupied by the enemy.

For the complete expulsion of Japanese imperialism from China, against all hesitation and compromise with the enemy.

II. Universal military mobilization of the country.

Mobilization of all land, sea and air forces, to offer nationwide resistance to Japan.

Against purely defensive and passive military tactics, for independent and active military tactics.

Formation of a permanent Council of National Defense to discuss and adopt a plan of national defense and military measures.

Arming of the people, launching of anti-Japanese guerilla warfare, combining in with the activities of the main regular army.

Reorganization of political work in the army so as to strengthen unity and solidarity between commanders and men, between the army and the people. The activity of the army to be raised to the highest degree.

Assistance to the northeastern people's revolutionary army and the northeastern volunteer detachments. Disorganization of the enemy's rear.

Equal material conditions to be established for all troops fighting against Japan.

Creation of military-mobilization areas in the different parts of the country.

Mobilization of the entire nation for war, so as to pass from the mercenary army system to general conscription.

III. Nationwide mobilization of the people.

Freedom of speech, press, assembly and organization for the whole people (with the exception of traitors to the fatherland)—for the purpose of better organizing armed resistance to the enemy.

Abolition of old laws and decrees which paralyze the movement of the people for the salvation of the fatherland; promulgation of new revolutionary laws and decrees.

Release of all political prisoners, revolutionaries and patriots of the country. Freedom of political parties.

Mobilization and arming of the entire Chinese people for war against imperialism.

Let those who have strength give their strength;

Let those who have money give their money;

Let those who have arms give their arms;

Let those who have knowledge give their knowledge for the salvation of the fatherland.

Mobilization of Mongols, Moslems and all other national minorities for joint struggle against Japan on the basis of the principle of self-determination of nations and national autonomy.

IV. Reform of the political system of the country.

Calling of a National Assembly—organ of the real representatives of the people. Adoption of a really democratic constitution. Measures to be outlined for the struggle against Japan, to save the fatherland, and the election of members of a government of national defense. Revolutionary elements to be drawn from various parties, groupings and mass organizations into the work of the government of national defense, and all Japanophile elements to be driven out of it.

The government of national defense to be constituted on the basis of democratic centralism.

The government of national defense to pursue a revolutionary policy of struggle against Japanese imperialism, for the salvation of the country, the realization of local self-government. The machinery of state to be purged of bribe-takers and bureaucrats, and a good governmental machine to be created.

V. Anti-Japanese foreign policy.

Without sacrificing the territorial integrity and sovereignty of the country, to conclude an alliance against the aggressors with all countries opposed to Japanese aggression. Military mutual assistance agreements to be concluded with these countries for struggle against Japan.

For the front of peace, against the front of the aggressors, Germany, Italy and Japan.

Alliance with the oppressed peoples of Formosa, Korea and the masses of the workers and peasants of Japan itself for the struggle against Japanese imperialism.

VI. Financial and economic policy in wartime.

Financial policy to be based on the following principles: Let those who have money hand it over for the salvation of the country. The property of traitors to the fatherland to be confiscated and transferred to the fund for the struggle against Japan. Economic policy to guarantee the extension and development of the defense industry, the development of agriculture, the organization of the supply of agricultural products to the country for the whole period of the war.

Economic policy to be directed towards encouraging national production, improving local industry, towards the complete prohibition of the purchase and sale of Japanese commodities, and the fight against dishonest merchants and profiteers thriving upon the needs of the people.

VII. Improvement of the material conditions of the masses of the people.

Improvement of the material conditions of workers, peasants, office employees, teachers and military men participating in the struggle against Japan.

Assistance to the families of those engaged in the fight against Japan.

Abolition of burdensome taxation and extortions.

Reduction in land rents and loan interest.

Aid to unemployed.

Regulation of food supplies.

Aid to those suffering from natural calamities.

VIII. Policy of public education in the spirit of the anti-Japanese struggle.

Abolition of the old and the introduction of a new system of education directed towards the struggle against Japanese imperialism, for the salvation of the country.

Introduction of universal, compulsory, free education.

Raising of the national consciousness of the masses.

Compulsory military training for students throughout China.

IX. Complete extirpation of all traitors to the fatherland and Japanophile elements. The position behind the lines to be strengthened.

X. The consolidation of the united anti-Japanese national front.

Formation of a united anti-Japanese national front of all parties, groupings, organizations and all armies on the basis of genuine collaboration between the Kuomintang and the Communist Party in the leadership of the struggle against Japan. Steadfast solidarity in the struggle for the salvation of the fatherland.

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